The History Of The Rebellion And Civil Wars In England V5: To Which Is Added An Historical View Of The Affairs Of Ireland

Edward Earl Of Clarendon

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN ENGLAND,

TO WHICH IS ADDED
An Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland.

By EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

A NEW EDITION,
EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL COLLATION OF THE ORIGINAL MS.,
WITH ALL THE SUPPRESSED PASSAGES;
ALSO THE
UNPUBLISHED NOTES OF BISHOP WARBURTON.

VOLUME V.

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THE HISTORY

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

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The actions of the last year were attended with so many dismal accidents and events, that there were no seeds of hope left to spring up in this ensuing ill year; for it was enough discerned how little success the treaty with the Scots would produce; which yet the king did not desire to put a period to, otherwise than by positively declaring, "that he would never consent to the alteration of the church-government," but was willing enough that they should entertain any other hopes, and was not himself without hope, that, by satisfying the ambition and interest of particular men, he might mitigate the rigour of the presbyterian faction; and to that purpose monsieur Montrevil was gone from London to the Scottish army, then before Newark, having taken Oxford in his way, and so given an account to the king of his observations, and received from him such information and instruction as was necessary for the work in hand.

And in the mean time no ways were left untried to draw such a body of an army together, as might enable his majesty to make some attempt upon the enemy; and if he could, by all possible endeavours, have drawn out of all his garrisons left, a force of five thousand horse and foot, (which at that time seemed a thing not to be despaired of,) he did more desire to have lost his life, in some signal attempt upon any part of the enemy's army, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foresaw he was ever like to obtain by treaty; and he was not out of hope of a body of five thousand foot to be landed in Cornwall, which his letters from France confidently promised, and which had been so much expected, and depended upon by the prince, that it kept him from transporting himself into Scilly, till Fairfax was marched (as hath been said before) within little more than twenty miles of Pendennis. For sir Dudley Wyat had been sent expressly from the lord Jermyn, to assure the prince, that such a body of five thousand foot were actually raised under the command of Ruvignie, and should be embarked for Pendennis within less than a month; and the lord Jermyn, in a postscript to that letter which he writ to the chancellor of the exchequer by sir Dudley Wyat, wished him not to be too strict in the computation of the month from the date of the letter, because there might be accidents of winds at that season; but he desired him to be confident, that they should be all landed within the expiration of six weeks, and by that measure to conduct the resolutions, and to decline fighting upon that account. And after all this, it is as true, that there was never a man at this time levied or designed for that expedition, only the name of Ruvignie (because he was of the religion, and known to be a good officer) had been mentioned, in some loose discourse by the cardinal, as one who would be very fit to command any troops which might be sent into England for the relief of the king; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be warrant enough to give both the king and the prince that unreasonable expectation; the which and many other of that great lord's negociations and transactions, the succeeding and long continuing misfortunes, kept from being ever after examined, or considered and reflected upon.

The prince stayed in the isle of Scilly from Wednesday the 4th of March till Thursday the 16th of April, the wind having continued so contrary to the main, that the lords Capel and Hopton came not to him from Cornwall till the Saturday before; at which time likewise arrived a trumpeter from sir Thomas Fairfax, with such a message from the parliament to the prince as might well be called a summons, rather than an invitation; yet it was well it came not to Pendennis, where it would have found a party among the prince's servants. The next morning, being Sunday, a fleet of about twenty-seven or twenty-eight sail of ships encompassed the island; but within three or four hours, by a very notable tempest, which continued two days, they were dispersed. Upon this, and a clear determination of the weakness of the place, if it should be attacked by any considerable strength, (which both by the message and the attendants of it they had reason to apprehend,) together with the extreme scarcity of provisions, which that island afforded, and they had not been in that six weeks' stay supplied with victual for two days out of Cornwall, neither had there been any returns from France upon the lord Colepepper's application to the queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the season of the year, his highness inclined to remove to Jersey; against which it could be objected only of weight, the consideration of the king's being at London (which was strongly reported still) in a treaty; and then, that his highness's remove, especially if by distress of weather he should be forced into France, might be prejudicial to the king; and therefore it would be reasonable, first to expect some advertisement from his majesty in what condition he was. Hereupon his highness produced in council this ensuing letter from the king, which was writ shortly after the battle of Naseby, and which he had concealed till that morning from all the lords, and which truly, I think, was the only secret he had ever kept from the four he had trusted.

Hereford, the 23d of June, 1645.

" Charles,

" My late misfortunes remember me to command you that which I hope you shall never have occasion to obey; it is this: if I should at any time be taken prisoner by the rebels, I command you (upon my blessing) never to yield to any conditions, that are dishonourable, unsafe for your person, or derogatory to regal authority, upon any considerations whatsoever, though it were for the saving of my life; which in such a case, I am most confident, is in greatest security by your constant resolution, and not a whit the more in danger for their threatening, unless thereby you should yield to their desires. But let their resolutions be never so barbarous, the saving of my life by complying with them would make me end my days with torture, and disquiet of mind, not giving you my blessing, and cursing all the rest who are consenting to it. But your constancy will make me die cheerfully, praising God for giving me so gallant a son, and heaping my blessings on you; which you may be confident (in such a case) will light on you. I charge you to keep this letter still safe by you, until you shall have cause to use it; and then, and not till then, to shew it to all your council; it being my command to them, as well as you; whom I pray God to make as prosperously glorious as any of the predecessors ever were of.

" Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

After the reading this letter, and a consideration of the probability that the rebels would make some attempt upon his highness there, and the impossibility of resisting such an attempt in the condition the island then stood, it was by his highness with great earnestness proposed, and by the whole council (except the earl of Berkshire) unanimously advised, that the opportunity should be then laid hold on, whilst the rebels' ships were scattered; and that his highness should embark for Jersey; which he did accordingly on Thursday; and on the next day, being the 17th of April, with a most prosperous wind landed at Jersey; from whence, the same night, they sent an express to the queen, of the prince's safe arrival in that island ; and likewise letters to St. Maloes, and Havre de Grace, to advertise the lord Colepepper of the same; who received the information very seasonably, lying then at Havre with two frigates in expectation of a wind for Scilly, and with command to the prince, immediately to remove from thence. After the prince had taken an account of this island, both himself and all their lordships were of opinion, that it was a place of the greatest security, benefit, and conveniency to repose in, that could have been desired, and wished for ; till upon a clear information, and observation of the king's condition, and the state of England, he should find a fit opportunity to stir ; and the prince himself seemed to have the greatest averseness and resolution against going into France, except in case of danger of surprisal by the rebels, that could be imagined. In few days Mr. Progers, who had been despatched before (shortly upon the lord Colepepper's coming) from Paris for Scilly, being hindered by contrary winds till he received the news of the prince's being at Jersey, came thither, and brought this following letter from her majesty to the chancellor of the exchequer in cipher.

Paris, the 5th of April, 1646.

" My lord Colepepper must witness for me that I have patiently, and at large, heard all that he could say concerning the condition of Scilly, and all that has been proposed for the rendering of the prince of Wales's abode there safe; yet I must confess to you, that I am so far from being satisfied in that point, that I shall not sleep in quiet until I shall hear that the prince of Wales shall be removed from thence. It is confessed, it is not sufficiently fortified, and is accessible in divers places ; and the manning the works will require a thousand men more than you have, or, for ought I see, can procure; neither can you be confident, that the loss of Cornwall may not suddenly have a dangerous influence upon that garrison ; most of your soldiers being of that country. The power of the parliament at sea is so great, that you cannot rely upon the seasonable and safe conveyance of such proportions of provisions, as so great a garrison will require: I need not remember you of what importance to the king, and all his party, the safety of the prince's person is; if he should fall into the rebels' hands, the whole would thereby become desperate; therefore I must importunately conjure you to intend this work, as the principal service you can do to the king, me, or the prince. Colepepper will tell you how I have strained to assist you with present provisions, shipping, and money, necessary for the prince's remove to Jersey; where, be confident of it, he shall want nothing. Besides, for satisfaction of others, I have moved the queen regent to give assurance, that if the prince, in his way to Jersey, should be necessitated, by contrary winds, or the danger of the parliament shipping, to touch in France, he should have all freedom and assistance from hence, in his immediate passage thither; which is granted with great cheerfulness and civility, and will be subscribed under the hands of the French king and queen, my brother, and cardinal Mazarine: therefore I hope all scruples are now satisfied. Colepepper is hastening to you with good frigates; but if you shall find any danger before their arrival, I shall rely upon your care not to omit any opportunity to prevent that danger, according to the resolution in council, which Colepepper hath acquainted me with; for which I thank you. I need not tell you how acceptable this service will be to the king, who in every letter presses me to write to you concerning my son's safety; nor that I am, and always will be, most constantly,

"Your assured friend, *Henriette Marie R.*"

The prince and council were very glad at the receipt of this letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertised at their first landing there, that there was still an expectation of the prince in France; and that he would be speedily importuned from thence; which they could not believe: but as soon as the lord Colepepper came, they plainly discerned that letter had been written upon advice to Scilly, foreseeing that an immediate journey into France would not have been submitted to; and that the instrument mentioned for his highness's quiet and uninterrupted passage through France to Jersey, was only a colour, the sooner to have invited the prince to have landed there, if there had been any accidents in his passage; but that the resolution was, that he should not then have come to Jersey, as it was now, that he should quickly come from thence; to which purpose, shortly after, came most importunate letters from the queen; and it seems, howsoever all the late letters from the king to the prince before his coming out of England, were for his repair into Denmark, his majesty, upon what reasons I know not, conceived his highness to be in France; for after his coming to Jersey, this following letter was sent to him, by the lord Jermyn, in whose cipher it was writ, and deciphered by his lordship.

Oxford, the 22d of March.

"Charles,

"Hoping that this will find you safe with your mother, I think fit to write this short but necessary letter to you: then know, that your being where you are, safe from the power of the rebels, is, under God, either my greatest security, or my certain ruin. For your constancy to religion, obedience to me, and to the rules of honour, will make these insolent men begin to hearken to reason, when they shall see their injustice not like to be crowned with quiet: but, if you depart from those grounds for which I have all this time fought, then your leaving this kingdom will be (with too much probability) called sufficient proof for many of the slanders heretofore laid upon me: wherefore, once again, I command you upon my blessing to be constant to your religion, neither hearkening to Roman superstitions, nor the seditious and schismatical doctrines of the presbyterians and independents; for, know that a persecuted church is not thereby less pure, though less fortunate. For all other things, I command you to be totally directed by your mother, and (as subordinate to her) to the remainder of that council which I put to you, at your parting from hence: and so God bless you.

"*Charles R.*"

This letter, and the very passionate commands from the queen, together with what was privately said to his highness by the lord Colepepper, who from his being at Paris had changed his former opinions, and was (though he expressed it tenderly; finding a general aversion) positive for his going, wrought so far on the prince, that he discovered an inclination to the journey; whereupon the council presented at large to him, the inconveniences and dangers that naturally might be supposed would attend such a resolution: they remembered the carriage of the French since the beginning of this rebellion; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them; and that they had never, in the least degree, assisted the king; that there was no evidence that, at that time, they were more inclined to him than to the rebels; that it would be necessary they should make some public declaration on his majesty's behalf, before the heir apparent of the crown should put himself into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that resolution at least to be of that importance that it ought to be thoroughly weighed and considered, before executed; and so, in the end they prevailed with the prince (since at that time it was not known where the king was) to send the lords Capel and Colepepper again to the queen, to present the weightiness of the matter to her majesty. One of their instructions was as follows.

"You shall inform her majesty, that we have, with all duty and submission, considered her letters to us concerning our speedy repair into the kingdom of France; the which direction we conceive to be grounded upon her majesty's apprehension of danger to our person by any residence here; the contrary whereof, we believe, her majesty will be no sooner advertised of, than she will hold us excused for not giving that present obedience which we desire always to yield to the least intimation of her majesty; and therefore, you shall humbly acquaint her majesty, that we have great reason to believe this island to be defensible against a greater force, than we suppose probable to be brought against it. That the inhabitants of the island express as much cheerfulness, unanimity, and resolution for the defence of our person, by their whole carriage, and particularly by a protestation voluntarily undertaken by them, as can be desired; and that, if, contrary to expectation, the rebels should take the island, we can from the castle (a place in itself of very great strength) with the least hazard remove ourself to France; which in case of imminent danger we resolve to do. That our security being thus stated, we beseech her majesty to consider, whether it be not absolutely necessary, before any thought of our remove from hence be entertained, that we have as clear an information as may be got, of the condition of our royal father, and the affections of England; of the resolutions of the Scots in England, and the strength of the lord Mountrose in Scotland; of the affairs in Ireland, and the conclusion of the treaty there; that so, upon a full and mature prospect upon the whole, we may so dispose of our person as may be most for the benefit and advantage of our royal father; or patiently attend such an alteration and conjuncture, as may administer a greater advantage than is yet offered; and whether our remove out of the dominions of our royal father (except upon such a necessity, or apparent visible conveniency) may not have an influence upon the affections of the three kingdoms to the disadvantage of his majesty."

Within two days after the two lords were gone for Paris, sir Dudley Wyat arrived with the news of the king's being gone out of Oxford, before the break of day, only with two servants, and to what place uncertain: it was believed by the queen, as she said in her letter to the prince, that he was gone for Ireland, or to the Scots; and therefore her majesty renewed her command for the prince's immediate repair into France; whereas the chief reason before was, that he would put himself into the Scots' hands; and therefore it was necessary that his highness should be in France, to go in the head of those forces which should be immediately sent out of that kingdom to assist his majesty.

The two lords found the queen much troubled,[1] that the prince himself came not; and declared herself "not to be moved with any reasons that were, or could be, given for his stay; and that her resolution was positive and unalterable:" yet they prevailed with her, to respite any positive declaration till she might receive full advertisement of the king's condition; who was by this time known to be in the Scottish army. After some three weeks, Montrevil returned from Newcastle, with information (which Mr. Ashburnham's coming from him at the same time sufficiently discovered) that the king was in truth in no better condition than of a prisoner, and that his design was to make an escape from them. This again was made a great argument for the necessity of the prince's hasty remove, which was so contrary to all the grounds before laid down: to which was added some private instructions the king should send by word of mouth by Montrevil; though Mr. Ashburnham (who might be presumed to know as much of the king's mind as Montrevil) professed to my lords Capel and Colepepper, that he thought the prince's coming into France at that time would be very prejudicial to the king's affairs. But the cardinal Mazarine had sent the queen word, that he had intelligence from London that the prince was to be given up by some of his own followers for five thousand pounds; and therefore the resolution was fixed, and the lord Jermyn sent to Jersey, to bring his highness to the queen. What passed after his coming thither is faithfully set down by itself. I cannot omit the remembering, that though the lord Colepepper was instructed when he went from Scilly, to propose to her majesty some other ways for the prince's support, besides the depending upon her royal bounty, as particularly to endeavour the borrowing a reasonable sum of money of the duke of Espernon; and both the lords who were from Jersey, had particular directions to receive her majesty's approbation for sending to the king of Denmark to borrow twenty thousand pounds; and of other expedients of the same nature, which we had reason to believe would prove very successful, though none of them could be undertaken, because the very attempt would be matter of charge, which, without her majesty's favour, the prince could not disburse. But she was not pleased to approve of any course proposed, that he might have no hope of subsistence but by her, which she believed would bring him to her.

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[1] This was no maternal affection, as appeared from all her conduct with regard to her son, but her impatience to be in business, and have her son to govern, as she had governed her husband.—W.

I conceive I have omitted very few particulars in this plain narration which in any degree had reference to the public: particular injuries and indignities to ourselves, I have purposely omitted very many: and with modesty enough I may believe, that they who are the severest censurers of our whole carriage, would not have committed fewer mistakes, if they had been in our places and conditions.

It is remembered before, that the prince, upon his arrival at Scilly, sent a gentleman to Ireland to the marquis of Ormond, as well that he might be punctually informed of the state of that kingdom, (of which there were several reports,) as that he might receive from thence a company or two of foot, for the better guard of that island; which he foresaw would be necessary, whether he should remain there or not. The gentleman had a very quick passage to Dublin, and came thither very quickly after the peace was agreed upon with the Irish catholics, and found the lord Digby there; who, after his enterprise, and disbanding in Scotland, had first transported himself into the isle of Man, and from thence into Ireland; where he had been received, with great kindness and generosity, by the marquis of Ormond, as a man who had been in so eminent a post in the king's council and affairs. He was a person of so rare a composition by nature and by art,[1] (for nature alone could never have reached to it,) that he was so far from being ever dismayed upon any misfortune, (and greater variety of misfortunes never befell any man,) that he quickly recollected himself so vigorously, that he did really believe his condition to be improved by that ill accident; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new stock of reputation and honour; and so he no sooner heard of the prince's being in the isle of Scilly, and of his condition, and the condition of that place, than he presently concluded, that the prince's presence in Ireland would settle and compose all the factions there; reduce the kingdom to his majesty's service; and oblige the pope's nuncio, who was an enemy to the peace, to quit his ambitious designs. The lord lieutenant had so good an opinion of the expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that, when his highness had been forced to leave England, he had rather chosen to have made Ireland than Scilly his retreat; but, being a wise man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might increase those difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of so great importance; but, forthwith, having a couple of frigates ready, he caused an hundred men with their officers to be presently put on board, according to his highness's desire; and the lord Digby (who always concluded, that that was fit to be done which his first thoughts suggested to him, and never doubted the execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be attempted) put himself on board those vessels; resolving,[1] that, upon the strength of his own reason, he should be able to persuade the prince, and the council which attended him, forthwith to quit Scilly, and to repair to Dublin; which, he did not doubt, might be brought to pass in that way, that would have been grateful to the lord lieutenant. The prince, within a fortnight after his coming to Scilly, which was in March, found the place not so strong as he had understood it to be; that the island was very poor, and that he should not be able to draw any provisions thither from Cornwall, by which commerce those islands had still been supported; he resolved therefore, before the year advanced further, when the seas were like to be more infested with the enemy's ships, to transport himself to Jersey; which he did very happily, and found it to be a place in all respects very fit to reside in, till he might better understand the present condition of England, and receive some positive advice from the king his father. By this sudden remove of the prince from Scilly, the two frigates from Dublin missed finding him there; and that lord, whose order they were obliged to observe, made all the haste he could to Jersey;

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[1] This stroke of Digby's character very finely touched. And indeed his great genius in drawing characters is never more happily exerted than when lord Digby comes cross his pen. And the exquisite and natural touches of this kind, is more than a thousand arguments of his being superior in all senses to this his capital enemy. For had resentment and revenge directed his pen, he never would, indeed he never could, have given us a picture of this very extraordinary nobleman.—W.

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[1] Used in the sense of earlier writers, for being assured.—W.

where he arrived well, and found the prince, with many other of his friends who attended his highness, the two lords being gone but the day before to attend the queen: he lost no time in informing his highness of the happy state and condition of Ireland; that the peace was concluded; and an army of twelve thousand men ready to be transported into England; of the great zeal and affection the lord lieutenant had for his service; and that if his highness would repair thither, he should find the whole kingdom devoted to his service; and thereupon positively advised him, without further deliberation, to put himself aboard those frigates; which were excellent sailers, and fit for his secure transportation.

The prince told him, "that it was a matter of greater importance, than was fit to be executed upon so short deliberation; that he no sooner arrived at Jersey, than he received letters from the queen his mother, requiring him forthwith to come to Paris, where all things were provided for his reception; that he had sent two of the lords of the council to the queen, to excuse him for not giving ready obedience to her commands; and to assure her that he was in a place of unquestionable security; in which he might safely expect to hear from the king his father before he took any other resolution: that it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into Ireland, before his messengers' return from Paris; in which time, he might reasonably hope to hear from the king himself; and so wished him to have patience till the matter was more ripe for a determination." This reasonable answer gave him no satisfaction; he commended the prince's averseness from going into France; "which, he said, was the most pernicious counsel that ever could be given; that it was a thing the king his father abhorred, and never would consent to; and that he would take upon himself to write to the queen, and to give her such solid advice and reasons, that should infallibly convert her from that desire, and that should abundantly satisfy her that his going into Ireland was absolutely necessary; but that a little delay in the execution of it might deprive them of all the fruit which was to be expected from that journey; and therefore renewed his advice and importunity, for losing no more time, but immediately to embark;" which when he saw was not like to prevail with his highness, he repaired to one of those of the privy council who attended the prince, with whom he had a particular friendship, and lamented to him the loss of such an occasion, which would inevitably restore the king; who would be equally ruined if the prince went into France; of which he spoke with all the detestation imaginable; and said, "he was so far satisfied in his conscience of the benefit that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would inevitably fall out by the other, that, he said, if the person with whom he held this conference, would concur with him, he would carry the prince into Ireland, even without and against his consent." The other person answered, "that it was not to be attempted without his consent; nor could he imagine it possible to bring it to pass, if they should both endeavour it." He replied, "that he would invite the prince on board the frigates to a collation; and that he knew well he could so commend the vessels to him, that his own curiosity would easily invite him to a view of them; and that as soon as he was on board, he would cause the sails to be hoisted up, and make no stay till he came into Ireland."

The other was very angry with him for entertaining such imaginations; and told him, "they neither agreed with his wisdom nor his duty;" and left him in despair of his conjunction, and, at the same time, of being able to compass it. He had no sooner discharged himself of this imagination,[1] but in the instant (as he had a most pregnant fancy) he entertained another with the same vigour; and resolved, with all possible expedition, to find himself at Paris, not making the least question but that he should convert the queen from any further thought of sending for the prince into France, and as easily obtain her consent and approbation for his repairing into Ireland; and he made as little doubt, with the queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with France to send a good supply of money by him into Ireland; by which he should acquire a most universal reputation, and be the most welcome man alive to the lord lieutenant: and transported with this happy auguration, he left Jersey; leaving at the same time his two ships, and his soldiers, and half a dozen gentlemen of quality, (who, upon his desire, and many promises, had kept him company from Ireland,) without one penny of money to subsist on during his absence.

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[1] Finely expressed.—W.

As soon as he came to Paris, and had seen the queen, (whom he found very well inclined to do all she could for the relief of Ireland, but resolute to have the prince her son immediately with her, notwithstanding all the reasons pressed against it by the lords of the king's council, who had been sent from Jersey,) he attended the cardinal; who understood him very well, and knew his foible; and received him with all the ceremony, and demonstration of respect, he could possibly express; entered upon the discourse of England; celebrated the part which he had acted upon that stage, in so many actions of courage, and sagacity, of the highest prudence and circumspection, with an indefatigable industry and fidelity. He told him, "that France found too late their own error; that they had been very well content to see the king's great puissance weakened by his domestic troubles, which they wished only should keep him from being able to hurt his neighbours; but that they never had desired to see him at the mercy of his own rebels, which they saw now was like to be the case; and they were therefore resolved to wed his interest in such a way and manner, as the queen of England should desire;" in which he well knew how much her majesty would depend upon his lordship's counsel.

The cardinal said, "it was absolutely necessary, since the crown of France resolved to wed the king's interest, that the person of the prince of Wales should reside in France; that the method he had thought of proceeding in was, that the queen of England should make choice of such a person, whom she thought best affected, and best qualified for such an employment, whom the king of France would immediately send as his extraordinary ambassador to the king and to the parliament; that he should govern himself wholly by such instructions as the queen should give him; which, he knew, would be his lordship's work to prepare; that all things should be made ready as soon as the queen would nominate the ambassador; and that, upon the arrival of the prince of Wales in any part of France, as soon as notice should be sent to the court of it, (for which due preparation should be made,) the ambassador should be in the same manner despatched for England, with one only instruction from France; which should be, that he should demand a speedy answer from the parliament, whether they would satisfy the demands the French court had made? which if they should refuse to do, he should forthwith, in the king his master's name, declare war against them, and immediately leave the kingdom, and return home; and then there should be quickly such an army ready, as was worthy for the prince of Wales to venture his own person in; and that he should have the honour to redeem and restore his father."

This discourse ended, the lord Digby wanted not language to extol the generosity and the magnanimity of the resolution, and to pay the cardinal all his compliments in his own coin, and, from thence, to enter upon the condition of Ireland; in which the cardinal presently interrupted him, and told him, "he knew well he was come from thence, and meant to return thither, and likewise the carriage of the nuncio. That the marquis of Ormond was too brave a gentleman, and had merited too much of his master to be deserted, and France was resolved not to do its business by halves, but to give the king's affairs an entire relief in all places; that he should carry a good supply of money with him into Ireland, and that arms and ammunition should be speedily sent after him, and such direction to their agent there, as should draw off all the Irish from the nuncio, who had not entirely given themselves up to the Spanish interest."

The noble person had that which he most desired; he was presently converted, and undertook to the queen, that he would presently convert all at Jersey; and that the prince should obey all her commands; and entered into consultation with her upon the election of an ambassador, and what instructions should be given him; which he took upon himself to prepare. Monsieur Bellievre was named by the queen, whom the cardinal had designed for that office. The cardinal approved the instructions, and caused six thousand pistoles to be paid to him, who was to go to Ireland; and though it was a much less sum than he had promised himself, from the magnificent expressions the cardinal had used to him, yet it provided well for his own occasions; so he left the queen with his usual professions, and confidence, and accompanied those lords to Jersey, who were to attend upon his highness with her majesty's orders for the prince's repair into France; for the advancement whereof the cardinal was so solicitous, that he writ a letter to the old prince of Condé, (which he knew he would forthwith send to the queen; as he did,) in which he said, "that he had received very certain advertisement out of England, that there were some persons about the prince of Wales in Jersey, who had undertaken to deliver his highness up into the hands of the parliament for twenty thousand pistoles;" and this letter was forthwith sent by the queen to overtake the lords, that it might be shewed to the prince; and that they who attended upon him might discern what would be thought of them, if they dissuaded his highness from giving a present obedience to his mother's commands.

As soon as they came to Jersey, the lord Digby used all the means he could to persuade his friend[1] to concur in his advice for the prince's immediate repair into France. He told him all that had passed between the cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the expressions of the high value his eminence had of his particular person: "that an ambassador was chosen by his advice, and his instructions drawn by him, from no part of which the ambassador durst swerve;" (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he had both nominated the ambassador, and that his instructions would be exactly observed by him; so great a power he had always over himself, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him;) "that a war would be presently proclaimed upon their refusal to do what the ambassador required, and that there wanted nothing to the expediting this great affair, but the prince's repairing into France without further delay; there being no other question concerning that matter, than whether his highness should stay in Jersey, where there could be no question of his security, until he could receive express direction from the king his father; and therefore he conjured his friend to concur in that advice; which would be very grateful to the queen, and be attended with much benefit to himself;" telling him, "how kind her majesty was to him, and how confident she was of his service, and that if he should be of another opinion, it would not hinder the prince from going; who, he knew, was resolved to obey his mother;" and so concluded his discourse, with those arguments which he thought were like to make most impression on him; and gave him the instructions by which the ambassador was to be guided.

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[1] This was sir Edward Hyde himself.---W.

His friend, who in truth loved him very heartily,[1] though no man better knew his infirmities, told him, "whatever the prince would be disposed to do, he could not change his opinion in point of counsel, until the king's pleasure might be known:" he put him in mind, "how he had been before deceived at Oxford by the conte de Harcourt, who was an ambassador likewise, as we then thought, named by ourselves, and whose instructions he had likewise drawn; and yet, he could not but well remember how foully that business had been managed, and how disobligingly he himself had been treated by that ambassador; and therefore he could not but wonder, that the same artifices should again prevail with him; and that he could imagine that the instructions he had drawn would be at all considered, or pursued, further than they might contribute to what the cardinal for the present designed; of the integrity whereof, they had no evidence, but had reason enough to suspect it."

The lord Capel, and the lord Colepepper, stayed at Paris with the queen full three weeks; having only prevailed with her to suspend her present commands for the prince's remove from Jersey, until she should have clear intelligence where the king was, and how he was treated, though she declared a positive resolution that his highness should come to Paris, let the intelligence be what it could be; and, in the end, they were well assured that his majesty had put himself into the Scottish army as it lay before Newark; and that, as soon as he came thither, he had caused that garrison to deliver the town into the hands of the Scots; and that thereupon the Scots marched presently away to Newcastle: that they had pressed the king to do many things, which he had absolutely refused to do; and that thereupon they had put very strict guards upon his majesty, and would not permit any man to repair to him, or to speak with him; so that his majesty looked upon himself as a prisoner, and resolved to make another escape from them as soon as he could. Mr. Ashburnham, who attended upon him in his journey from Oxford as his sole servant, was forbid to come any more near him; and if he had not put himself on board a vessel, then at Newcastle, and bound for France, the Scots would have delivered him up to the parliament. Monsieur Montrevil, the French envoy, pretended that they were so incensed against him for briskly expostulating with them for their ill treatment of the king, that it was no longer safe for him to remain in their quarters, and more dangerous to return to London; and therefore, he had likewise procured a Dutch ship to land him in France, and was come to Paris before the lords returned to Jersey.

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[1] This whole episode of lord Digby's adventures from Dublin to Paris is incomparably told.---W.

The queen thought now she had more reason to be confirmed in her former resolution for the speedy remove of the prince, and it was pretended that he had brought a letter from the king, which was deciphered by the lord Jermyn; in which he said, "that he did believe that the prince could not be safe any where but with the queen; and therefore wished, that if he were not there already, he should be speedily sent for;" and Montrevil professed to have a message by word of mouth to the same purpose: whereas Mr. Ashburnham, who left the king but the day before Montrevil, and was as entirely trusted by the king as any man in England, brought no such message; and confessed to the lord Capel, "that he thought it very pernicious to the king that the prince should come into France in that conjuncture, and before it was known how the Scots would deal with him; and that the king's opinion of the convenience of his coming into France, could proceed from nothing but the thought of his insecurity in Jersey." The lord Capel offered to undertake to make a journey himself to Newcastle, and to receive the king's positive commands, which he was sure would be submitted to, and obeyed by all the council as well as by himself: but the queen was positive, that, without any more delay, the prince should immediately repair to her; and, to that purpose, she sent the lord Jermyn (who was governor of Jersey) together with the lord Digby, the lord Wentworth, the lord Wilmot, and other lords and gentlemen, who, with the two lords who had been sent to her by the prince, should make haste to Jersey to see her commands executed. Whilst they are upon their journey thither, it will be seasonable to inquire how the king came to involve himself in that perplexity, out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his liberty and freedom.

Monsieur Montrevil was a person utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercourse or correspondence with him; so that what I shall say of him cannot proceed from the effects of affection or prejudice, and if I shall say any thing for his vindication from those reproaches which he did, and yet lies under, both with the English and Scottish nation, countenanced enough by the discountenance he received from the cardinal after his return, when he was, after the first account he had given of his negociation, restrained from coming to the court, and forbid to remain in Paris, and lay under a formed, declared dislike till his death; which with grief of mind shortly ensued. But as it is no unusual hardheartedness in such chief ministers, to sacrifice such instruments, how innocent soever, to their own dark purposes,[1] so it is probable, that temporary cloud would soon have vanished, and that it was only cast over him, that he might be thereby secluded from the conversation of the English court; which must have been reasonably very inquisitive, and might thereby have discovered somewhat which the other court was carefully to conceal: I say, if what I here set down of that transaction, shall appear some vindication of that gentleman from those imputations under which his memory remains blasted, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honesty, to be preserved in history as the soul of it, towards all persons who come to be mentioned in it; and since I have in my hands all the original letters which passed from him to the king, and the king's answers and directions thereupon, or such authentic copies thereof, as have been by myself examined with the originals, I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to absolve him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjustly charged, and to make a candid interpretation of those actions, which appear to have resulted from ingenuity, and upright intentions, how unsuccessful soever.

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[1] This noble historian, whose virtue and integrity caused him to fall a sacrifice to the most *hardhearted* monarch that ever was, yet had such a veneration for courts, as made him qualify every species of villany there (as may be seen throughout this History) by the softest terms. So here he calls a treachery, which none but the devil, or those instructed by him, would commit, by the *soft* name of *hardheartedness*. However, he gives the devil his due, when he supposes it done for some *dark purposes*, worthy of that inspiration.—W.

He was then a young gentleman of parts very equal to the trust the cardinal reposed in him, and to the employment he gave him; and of a nature not inclined to be made use of in ordinary dissimulation and cozenage. Whilst he took his measures only from the Scottish commissioners at London, and from those presbyterians whom he had opportunity to converse with there, he did not give the king the least encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any compliance from the one or the other, upon any cheaper price or condition than the whole alteration of the government of the church by bishops, and an entire conformity to the covenant; and he used all the arguments which occurred to him, to persuade his majesty that all other hopes of agreement with them were desperate; and when he saw his majesty unmoveable in that particular, and resolute to undergo the utmost event of war, before he would wound his peace of mind, and conscience, with such an odious concession, he undertook that journey we mentioned in the end of the last year, to discover whether the same rude and rigid spirit, which governed those commissioners at Westminster, possessed also the chief officers of the Scottish army, and that committee of state that always remained with the army.

The Scottish army was then before Newark; and, in his passage thither, he waited upon the king at Oxford; and was confirmed in what he had reason before to be confident of, that it was absolutely impossible ever to prevail with his majesty to give up the church to the most impetuous demands they could make, or to the greatest necessity himself could be environed with; but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their ambition or their profit, which were always powerful and irresistible spells upon that people,[1] he had ample authority and commission to comply with the most extravagant demands from persons like to make good what they undertook, except such propositions as might be mischievous to the marquis of Mountrose; whom the king resolved never to desert, nor any who had joined with and assisted him; all which, he desired to unite to those who might now be persuaded to serve him. His majesty, for his better information, recommended him to some persons who had then command in the Scottish army; of whose affections and inclinations to his service, he had as much confidence, at least, as he ought to have; and of their credit, and courage, and interest, a greater than was due to them.

When he came to the army, and after he had endeavoured to undeceive those who had been persuaded to believe, that a peremptory and obstinate insisting upon the alteration of the church-government (the expectation and assurance whereof had indeed first enabled them to make that expedition) would at last prevail over the king's spirit, as it had done in Scotland, he found those in whom the power, at least the command of the army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the committee which presided in the counsels, rather devising and projecting expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former demands, than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing he should believe that they stayed for the coming of the chancellor out of Scotland, who was daily expected, before they would declare their resolution; not that they were, for the present, without one. They were very much pleased that the king offered, and desired to come to them, and remain in the army with them, if he might be secured of a good reception for himself, and security for his servants who should attend him, and his friends who should resort to him; and the principal officers of the army spoke of that, as a thing they so much wished, that it could be in nobody's power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greatest power in the conduct of the most secret counsels, took pains to be thought to have much franker resolutions in that particular, than they thought yet seasonable to express in direct undertakings; and employed those who were known to be most entirely trusted by them, and some of those who had been recommended to him by the king, to assure him that he might confidently advise his majesty to repair to the army, upon the terms himself had proposed; and that they would send a good body of their horse, to meet his majesty at any place he should appoint to conduct him in safety to them. Upon which encouragement he prepared a paper to be signed by himself, and sent to the king as his engagement; and shewed it to those who had been most clear to him in their expressions of duty to the king; and which, being approved by them, he sent by the other who had appeared to him to be trusted by those who were in the highest trust to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excused themselves for being so reserved towards him, as if required in that conjuncture of their affairs, when there evidently appeared to be the most hostile jealousy between the independent army and them.[1] When the paper was likewise returned to him with approbation after their perusal, he sent it to the king in these words, faithfully translated out of the original.

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[1] So says Milton, in his character of the presbyterian faction, in his History of England.—W.

"I do promise in the name of the king and queen regent,[2] (my master and mistress,) and by virtue of the powers that I have from their majesties, that if the king of Great Britain shall put himself into the Scottish army, he shall be there received as their natural sovereign; and that he shall be with them in all freedom of his conscience and honour; and that all such of his subjects and servants as shall be there with him, shall be safely and honourably protected in their persons; and that the said Scots shall really and effectually join with the said king of Great Britain, and also receive all such persons as shall come in unto him, and join with them for his majesty's preservation: and that they shall protect all his majesty's party to the utmost of their power, as his majesty will command all those under his obedience to do the like to them; and that they shall employ their armies and forces, to assist his majesty in the procuring of a happy and well grounded peace, for the good of his majesty and his said kingdoms, and in recovery of his majesty's just rights. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal this first of April 1646.

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[1] Ready to go to blows, which they did soon after.—W.

[2] This is in the style of a state, which had for many ages assumed the protection of the Scottish nation from the injuries of England. Under this title the king was willing to accept their guarantee. So low was this unhappy monarch reduced in honour and power.—W.

"*De Montrevil, résident pour sa majestée tres Chrétienne en Ecosse.*"

Many days had not passed after the sending that express, when he found such chagrin, and tergiversation, in some of those he had treated with, one man denying what he had said to himself, and another disclaiming the having given such a man authority to say that from him which the other still avowed he had done, that Montrevil thought himself obliged, with all speed, to advertise his majesty of the foul change, and to dissuade him from venturing his person in the power of such men: but the express who carried that letter was taken prisoner: and though he made his escape, and preserved his letter, he could not proceed in his journey; and was compelled to return to him who sent him; and by that time, he having informed the committee, what he had done to vindicate himself from being made a property by them to betray the king, and expressed a deep resentment of the injury done to the king his master, and to himself, in their receding from what they had promised, they appeared again to be of another temper, and very much to desire his majesty's presence in the army; and to that purpose, they promised, as an unanimous resolution, "that they would send a considerable party of horse to meet his majesty at Burton upon Trent; and that they could not advance further with the whole party; but that some horse should be sent to wait upon his majesty at Bosworth, which is the middle way between Burton and Harborough, whither they hoped his own horse would be able to convey him securely ;" they desired "the king to appoint the day, and they would not fail to be there." They wished, "that when their troops should meet his majesty, he would tell them that he was going into Scotland; upon which, they would find themselves obliged to attend him into their army, without being able to discover any thing of a treaty; of which the parliament ought yet to receive no advertisement:" of all which Montrevil gave the king a very full and plain narration, together with what he had written before, by his letter of the 15th of the same April, to secretary Nicholas; and, in the same letter, he informed his majesty, "that they did not desire that any of those forces which had followed the king's party, should join with them, no nor so much as those horse that should have accompanied his majesty, should remain in their army with him: that they had with much ado agreed, that the two princes" (for his majesty, upon prince Rupert's humble submission, was reconciled to both his nephews) "might follow the king, with such other of his servants as were not excepted from pardon; and that those three might stay with his majesty until the parliament of England should demand them; in which case they could not refuse to deliver them; but that they would first furnish them with some means of getting beyond seas."

The king had proposed, "that there might be a union between them and the marquis of Mountrose; and that his forces might be joined with their army ;" which they had said, "they could not consent to, with reference to the person of Mountrose; who, after so much blood spilt by him of many of the greatest families, they thought could not be safe among them:" whereupon the king had declared, that "he would send him his extraordinary ambassador into France;" which they appeared not to contradict, but had now changed their mind; of which Montrevil likewise gave an account in the same letter: "that they could not give their consent that the marquis of Mountrose should go ambassador into France,[1] but into any other place, he might; and that they again, though without limiting the time, insisted upon settling the presbyterian government;" and he concluded his letter with these words, "I will say no more but this, that his majesty and you know the Scots better than I do: I represent these things nakedly to you, as I am obliged to do; I have not taken upon me the boldness to give any counsel to his majesty; yet if he hath any other refuge, or means to make better conditions, I think he ought not to accept of these; but if he sees all things desperate every where else, and that he and his servants cannot be secure with his parliament of England, I dare yet assure him, that though he and his servants may not be here with all that satisfaction perhaps which he might desire, yet he especially shall be as secure as possible."

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[1] This denial was on account of that relationship the Scotch nation bore to the French, mentioned above.—W.

In another letter dated the next day after (the 16th of April) to the same secretary, he hath these words; "I have orders from the deputies of Scotland to assure you, that they will not herein fail," (which related to sending the horse to meet his majesty,) "as soon as they shall know his day; and that the king shall be received into the army as hath been promised; and that his conscience shall not be forced." And in the last letter, which his majesty or the secretary received from him, and which was dated the 20th of April 1646, there are these words: "They tell me that they will do more than can be expressed; but let not his majesty hope for any more than I send him word of; that he may not be deceived; and let him take his measures aright; for certainly the enterprise is full of danger:" yet, in the same letter, he says, "the disposition of the chiefs of the Scottish army is such as the king can desire; they begin to draw off their troops towards Burton, and the hindering his majesty from falling into the hands of the English is of so great importance to them, that it cannot be believed but that they will do all that lies in their power to hinder it."

This was the proceeding of monsieur Montrevil in that whole transaction: and if he were too sanguine upon his first conversation with the officers of the Scottish army, and some of the committee, and when he signed that engagement upon the first of April, he made haste to retract that confidence, and was in all his despatches afterwards phlegmatic enough; and, after his majesty had put himself into their hands, he did honestly and stoutly charge all the particular persons with the promises and engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the cardinal sensible of the indignity that was offered to that crown in the violation of those promises and engagements; which was the reason of his being commanded to return home, as soon as the king came to Newcastle; lest his too keen resentment might irritate the Scots, and make it appear to the parliament how far France was engaged in that whole negociation; which the cardinal had no mind should appear to the world: and there can be no doubt, but that the cautions and animadversions which the king received from Montrevil after his engagement, would have diverted him from that enterprise, if his majesty had discerned any other course to take that had been preferable even to the hazard that he saw he must undergo with the Scots; but he was clearly destitute of any other refuge. Every day brought the news of the loss of some garrison; and as Oxford was already blocked up at a distance, by those horse which Fairfax had sent out of the west to that purpose, or to wait upon the king, and follow him close, if he should remove out of Oxford; so he had soon reduced Exeter, and some other garrisons in Devonshire. The governors then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being relieved,[1] thought that they might deliver up their garrisons before they were pressed with the last extremities, that they might obtain the better conditions; and yet it was observed that better and more honourable conditions were not given to any, than to those who kept the places they were trusted with, till they had not one day's victual left; of which we shall observe more hereafter. By this means Fairfax was within three days of Oxford before the king left it, or fully resolved what to do.

His majesty had before sent to two eminent commanders of name, who had blocked up the town at a distance, " that if they would pass their words," (how slender a security soever, from such men who had broken so many oaths, for the safety of the king,) "that they would immediately conduct him to the parliament, he would have put himself into their hands;" for he was yet persuaded to think so well of the city of London, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himself there: but those officers would submit to no such engagements;[1] and great care was taken to have strict guards round about London, that he might not get thither. What should the king do? There was one thing most formidable to him, which he was resolved to avoid, that was, to be inclosed in Oxford, and so to be given up, or taken, when the town should be surrendered, as a prisoner to the independent's army; which he was advertised, from all hands, would treat him very barbarously.

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[1] This seems much for the honour of the parliament commanders, as if they esteemed bravery in their enemies, which was indeed natural to brave men.—W.

In this perplexity, he chose rather to commit himself to the Scottish army; which yet he did not trust so far as to give them notice of his journey,[2] by sending for a party of their horse to meet him, as they had proffered; but early in the morning, upon the 27th day of April, he went out of Oxford, attended only by John Ashburnham, and a scholar, (one Hudson,) who understood the by-ways as well as the common, and was indeed a very skilful guide. In this equipage he left Oxford on a Monday, leaving those of his council in Oxford who were privy to his going out, not informed whether he would go to the Scottish army, or get privately into London, and lie there concealed, till he might choose that which was best; and it was generally believed, that he had not within himself at that time a fixed resolution what he would do; which was the more credited because it was nine days after his leaving Oxford, before it was known where the king was; insomuch as Fairfax, who came before it the fifth day after his majesty was gone, was sat down, and had made his circumvallation about Oxford, before he knew that the king was in the Scottish army; but the king had wasted that time in several places, whereof some were gentlemen's houses, (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of,) purposely to be informed of the condition of the marquis of Mountrose, and to find some secure passage that he might find himself with him; which he did exceedingly desire; but in the end, went into the Scottish army before Newark, and sent for Montrevil to come to him.

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[1] It would have been a breach of their trust; and that the king should be willing to take the words of those who did so, is indeed surprising. This, and the historian's concealing their names, show that this was some intrigue begun between those parliament commanders and some of the king's bedchamber counsellors: and from intrigues of this kind much mischief afterwards proceeded.—W.

[2] This half trust was certainly impolitic. It gave the Scots army a pretence to break their engagement, as the king had not performed his, by meeting their horse, which had he done, no impudence or perfidy would have enabled them to send their express to Westminster. —W.

It was very early in the morning when the king went to the general's lodging, and discovered himself to him; who either was, or seemed to be, exceedingly surprised and confounded at his majesty's presence; and knew not what to say; but presently gave notice of it to the committee, who were no less perplexed. An express was presently sent to the parliament at Westminster, to inform them of the unexpected news, as a thing they had not the least imagination of. The parliament were so disordered with the intelligence, that at first they resolved to command their general to raise the siege before Oxford, and to march with all expedition to Newark; but the Scottish commissioners at London, diverted them from that, by assuring them, "that all their orders would meet with an absolute obedience in their army;" so they made a short despatch to them, in which it was evident that they believed the king had gone to them by invitation, and not out of his own free choice; and implying, "that they should shortly receive further direction from them;" and in the mean time, "that they should carefully watch that his majesty did not dispose himself to go some whither else." The great care in the army was, that there might be only respect and good manners showed towards the king, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the general never asked the word of him, or any orders, nor suffered the officers of the army to resort to, or to have any discourse with his majesty. Montrevil was ill looked upon, as the man who had brought this inconvenience upon them[1] without their consent; but he was not frighted from owning and declaring what had passed between them, what they had promised, and what they were engaged to do. However, though the king liked not the treatment he received, he was not without apprehension, that Fairfax might be forthwith appointed to decline all other enterprises, and to bring himself near the Scottish army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the lord Bellasis to surrender Newark, that the Scots might march northward; which they resolved to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for some months longer from that enemy, upon honourable conditions, that army with great expedition marched towards Newcastle; which the king was glad of, though their behaviour to him was still the same; and great strictness used that he might not confer with any man who was not well known to them, much less receive letters from any.

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[1] A more execrable crew of banditii never assumed the honourable

It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary news was from the pulpit; and by the preacher's text, and his manner of discourse upon it, the auditors might judge, and commonly foresaw, what was like to be next done in the parliament or council of state. The first sermon that was preached before the king, after the army rose from Newark to march northwards, was upon the 19th chapter of the 2d Book of Samuel, the 41st, 42d, and 43d verses.

> 41. *And, behold, all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto the king, Why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the king, and his household, and all David's men with him, over Jordan?*
>
> 42. *And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the king is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift?*
>
> 43. *And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah,*

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name of an army, with whom honour and good faith went for nothing. —W.

> *and said, We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our king? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel.*

Upon which words, the preacher gave men cause to believe, that now they had gotten their king, they resolved to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his majesty came no sooner to Newcastle, than both monsieur Montrevil was restrained from having any conference with him, and Mr. Ashburnham was advised "to shift for himself, or else that he should be delivered up to the parliament;" and both the one and the other were come to Paris when the queen sent those lords to hasten the prince's remove from Jersey.

When those lords, with their great train, came to Jersey, which was towards the end of June, they brought with them a letter from the queen to the prince; in which she told him, "that she was now fully satisfied, from the intelligence she had from Newcastle and London, that he could not make any longer residence in Jersey without apparent danger of falling into the enemy's hands; and that if he should continue there, all possible attempts would be suddenly made, as well by treachery as by force, to get his person into their power; and therefore her majesty did positively require him, to give immediate obedience to the king's commands, mentioned in the letter which he had lately sent by sir Dudley Wyatt," (which is set out before,) "and reiterated in a letter which she had since received from the king by monsieur Montrevil." Her majesty said, "that she had the greatest assurance from the crown of France, that possibly could be given, for his honourable reception, and full liberty to continue there, and to depart from thence, at his pleasure; and she engaged her own word, that whenever his council should find it fit for him to go out of France, she would never oppose it; and that during his residence in that kingdom, all matters of importance which might concern himself, or relate to his majesty's affairs, should be debated and resolved by himself and the council, in such manner as they ought to have been, if he had continued in England, or in Jersey:" and concluded, "that he should make all possible haste to her."

The lords, which arrived with this despatch from her majesty, had no imagination that there would have been any question of his highness's compliance with the queen's command; and therefore, as soon as they had kissed the prince's hand, which was in the afternoon, they desired that the council might presently be called; and when they came together, the lords Jermyn, Digby, and Wentworth, being likewise present, and sitting in the council, they desired the prince, "that his mother's letter might be read; and then, since they conceived there could be no debate upon his highness's yielding obedience to the command of the king and queen, that they might only consider of the day when he might begin his journey, and of the order he would observe in it." The lords of the council represented to the prince, "that they were the only persons that were accountable to the king, and to the kingdom, for any resolution his highness should take, and for the consequence thereof; and that the other lords who were present had no title to deliver their advice, or to be present at the debate, they being in no degree responsible for what his highness should resolve to do; and therefore desired that the whole matter might be debated; the state of the king's present condition understood as far as it might be; and the reasons considered which made it counsellable for his highness to repair into France, and what might be said against it; and the rather, because it was very notorious that the king had given no positive direction in the point, but upon a supposition that the prince could not remain secure in Jersey; which was likewise the ground of the queen's last command; and which they believed had no foundation of reason; and that his residence there might be very unquestionably safe." This begot some warmth and contradiction between persons; insomuch as the prince thought it very necessary to suspend the debate till the next day, to the end that by several and private conferences together between the lords who came from Paris, and those who were in Jersey, they might convert, or confirm each other in the same opinions; at least that the next debate might be free from passion and unkindness; and so the council rose, and the several lords betook themselves to use the same arguments, or such as they thought more agreeable to the person, as the lord Digby had before done to his friend, and with the same success.

The next day when they were called together, the lord Capel gave an account of all that had passed with the queen from the time that the lord Colepepper and he came thither; and "that the reasons they had carried from the prince had so far prevailed with the queen, that her majesty resolved to take no final resolution till she received further advertisement of the king's pleasure; and he did not think that the information she had received from monsieur Montrevil had weight enough to produce the quick resolution it had done: that he thought it still most absolutely necessary, to receive the king's positive command before the prince should remove out of his majesty's own dominions; there being no shadow of cause to suspect his security there: that he had then offered to the queen, that he would himself make a journey to Newcastle to receive his majesty's commands; and that he now made the same offer to the prince: and because it did appear that his majesty was very strictly guarded, and that persons did not easily find access to him, and that his own person might be seized upon in his journey thither, or his stay there, or his return back, and so his highness might be disappointed of the information he expected, and remain still in the same uncertainty as to a resolution, he did propose, and consent to, as his opinion, that if he did not return again to Jersey within the space of one month, the prince should resolve to remove into France, if in the mean time such preparatories were made there, as he thought were necessary, and were yet defective."

He said, "he had been lately at Paris by the prince's command; and had received many graces from the queen, who had vouchsafed to impart all her own reasons for the prince's remove, and the grounds for the confidence she had of the affections of France: but, that he did still wonder, that if the court of France had so great a desire, as was pretended, that the prince of Wales should repair thither, that in the two months' time his highness had been in Jersey, they had never sent a gentleman to see him, and to invite him to come thither; nor had these who came now from the queen, brought so much as a pass for him to come into France: that he could not but observe, that all we had hitherto proposed to ourselves from France had proved in no degree answerable to our expectations; as the five thousand foot, which we had expected in the west before the prince came from thence; and that we had more reason to be jealous now than ever, since it had been by the advice of France, that the king had now put himself into the hands of the Scots; and therefore we ought to be the more watchful in the disposing the person of the prince by their advice likewise." He concluded, "that he could not give his advice, or consent, that the prince should repair into France, till the king's pleasure might be known, or such other circumstances might be provided in France, as had been hitherto neglected."

The lord Digby and the lord Jermyn wondered very much, "that there should be any doubt of the affections of France, or that it should be believed that the queen could be deceived, or not well enough informed in that particular:" they related many particulars which had passed between the cardinal and them in private conferences, and the great professions of affection he made to the king. They said, "that the ambassador who was now appointed to go thither was chosen by the queen herself, and had no other instructions but what she had given him; and that he was not to stay there above a month; at the end of which he was to denounce war against the parliament, if they did not comply with such propositions as he made; and so to return; and then, that there should be an army of thirty thousand men immediately transported into England, with the prince of Wales in the head of them; that the ambassador was already gone from Paris, but was not to embark till he should first receive advertisement that the prince of Wales was landed in France; for that France had no reason to embark themselves so far in the king's quarrel, if the prince of Wales should refuse to venture his person with them; or, it may be, engage against them upon another interest."

They therefore besought the prince, and the lords, "that they would consider well, whether he would disappoint his father and himself of so great fruit as they were even ready to gather, and of which they could not be disappointed but by unseasonable jealousies of the integrity of France, and by delaying to give them satisfaction in the remove of the prince from Jersey."

These arguments, pressed with all the assurance and confidence imaginable, by persons of that near trust and confidence with the king, who were not like to be deceived themselves, nor to have any purpose to deceive the prince, wrought so far with his highness, that he declared himself "resolved to comply with the commands of the queen, and forthwith remove into France;" which being resolved, he wished "there might be no more debate upon that point, but that they would all resolve to go with him, and that there might be as great an unity in their counsels, as had hitherto always been."

This so positive declaration of the prince of his own resolution made all further arguments against it not only useless but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that point, yet every man of the council, the lord Colepepper only excepted, besought his highness, "that he would give them his pardon, if they did not further wait upon him; for they conceived their commission to be now at an end; and that they could not assume any authority by it to themselves, if they waited upon him into France; nor expect that their counsels there should be hearkened unto, when they were now rejected." And so, after some sharp replies between the lords of different judgments, which made the council break up the sooner, they who resolved not to go into France took their leaves of the prince, and kissed his hand; his highness then declaring, "that he would be gone the next day by five of the clock in the morning," though the cross winds, and want of some provisions which were necessary for the journey, detained him there four or five days longer; during which time, the dissenting lords every day waited upon him, and were received by him very graciously; his highness well knowing and expressing to them a confidence in their affections, and that they would be ready to wait upon him, whenever his occasions should be ready for their service. But between them and the other lords there grew by degrees so great a strangeness, that, the last day, they did not so much as speak to each other; they who came from the queen taking it very ill, that the others had presumed to dissent from what her majesty had so positively commanded. And though they neither loved their persons, nor cared for their company, and without doubt, if they had gone into France, would have made them quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that conjuncture, they believed that the dissent and separation of all those persons who were trusted by the king with the person of the prince, would blast their counsel, and weigh down the single positive determination of the queen herself.

On the other side, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to persons so intrusted; and that in truth many ill consequences would result from that sudden departure of the prince out of the king's dominions, where his residence might have been secure in respect of the affairs of England; where, besides the garrisons of Scilly and Pendennis, (which might always be relieved by sea,) there remained still within his majesty's obedience, Oxford, Worcester, Wallingford, Ludlow, and some other places of less name; which, upon any divisions among themselves, that were naturally to be expected, might have turned the scale: nor did they know, of what ill consequence it might be to the king, that in such a conjuncture the prince should be removed, when it might appear more counsellable that he should appear in Scotland.

Moreover, Mr. Ashburnham's opinion, which he had delivered to the lord Capel, wrought very much upon them; for that a man so entirely trusted by the king, who had seen him as lately as any body, should bring no directions from his majesty to his son, and that he should believe, that it was fitter for the prince to stay in Jersey than to remove into France, till his majesty's pleasure was better understood, confirmed them in the judgment they had delivered.

But there was another reason that prevailed with those who had been made privy to it, and which, out of duty to the queen, they thought not fit to publish, or insist upon; it was the instructions given to Bellievre, (and which too much manifested the irresolution her majesty had,) not to insist upon what they well knew the king would never depart from; for, though that ambassador was required to do all he could to persuade the presbyterians to join with the king's party, and not to insist upon the destruction of the church; yet if he found that could not be compassed, he was to press, as the advice of the king his master, his majesty to part with the church, and to satisfy the presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the queen his wife, and of his own party; which method was afterwards observed and pursued by Bellievre; which those lords perfectly abhorred; and thought not fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to those counsels that had begun, and were to carry on that confusion.

Within a day or two after the prince's departure from Jersey, the earl of Berkshire left it likewise, and went for England; the lords Capel, Hopton, and the chancellor of the exchequer, remained together in Jersey to expect the king's pleasure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his majesty's service; of all which they found an opportunity to inform his majesty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the sincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewise waited upon the prince into France, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted those violent pressures, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more disquiet than he suffered from all the insolence of his enemies.

In a word, if the king's fortune had been further to be conducted by any fixed rules of policy and discretion, and if the current towards his destruction had not run with such a torrent, as carried down all obstructions of sobriety and wisdom to prevent it, and made the confusion inevitable, it is very probable that this so sudden remove of the prince from Jersey, with all the circumstances thereof, might have been looked upon, and censured with some severity, as an action that swerved from that prudence which by the fundamental rules of policy had been long established; but by the fatal and prodigious successes which followed, all counsels of wise and unwise men proving equally unsuccessful, the memory of what had passed before grew to be the less thought upon and considered.

Whilst these things were thus transacted in other parts, the king remained yet in the Scottish army; that people behaving themselves in such a manner, that most men believed that they would never have parted with his majesty till a full peace had been made. The parliament made many sharp instances, "that the king might be delivered into their hands; and that the Scottish army would return into their own country, having done what they were sent for, and the war being at an end." To which the council of Scotland seemed to answer with courage enough, and insisted most on those arguments of the king's legal rights, which had been, in all his majesty's declarations, urged against the parliament's proceedings; and which indeed could never be answered; and as much condemned them, as the parliament.[1]

In the mean time, though the king received all outward respect, he was in truth in the condition of a prisoner; no servant whom he could trust suffered to come to him; and though many persons of quality who had served the king in the war, when they saw the resolute answers made by the Scots, "that they neither would nor could compel their king to return to the parliament, if his majesty had no mind to do so," repaired to Newcastle, where his majesty was, yet none of them were suffered to speak to him; nor could he receive from, or send any letter to the queen or prince; and yet the Scots observed all distances, and performed all the ceremonies as could have been expected if they had indeed treated him as their king; and made as great profession to him of their duty and good purposes, "which they would manifest as soon as it should be seasonable; and then his servants and friends should repair to him with all liberty, and be well received:" and as they endeavoured to persuade the king to expect this from them, so they prevailed with many officers of that army, and some of the nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to discover their intentions.

Thus they prevailed with the king to send his positive orders to the marquis of Mountrose, who had indeed done wonders, to lay down his arms, and to leave the kingdom; till when, they pretended they could not declare for his majesty; and this was done with so much earnestness, and by a particular messenger known and trusted, that the marquis obeyed, and transported himself into France.

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[1] The Scots.---W.

Then they employed their Alexander Henderson, and their other clergy, to persuade the king to consent to the extirpation of episcopacy in England, as he had in Scotland; and it was and is still believed, that if his majesty would have been induced to have satisfied them in that particular, they would either have had a party in the parliament at Westminster to have been satisfied therewith, or that they would thereupon have declared for the king, and have presently joined with the loyal party in all places for his majesty's defence. But the king was too conscientious to buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price as was demanded,[1] and he was so much too hard for Mr. Henderson in the argumentation, (as appears by the papers that passed between them, which were shortly after communicated to the world,) that the old man himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidants; and died of grief, and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his majesty.

Whilst the king stayed at Newcastle, Bellievre the French ambassador, who was sent from Paris after the prince arrived there, and by whom the cardinal had promised to press the parliament so imperiously, and to denounce a war against them if they refused to yield to what was reasonable towards an agreement with the king, came to his majesty, after he had spent some time at London in all the low application to the parliament that can be imagined, without any mention of the king with any tenderness, as if his interest were at all considered by the king his master, and without any consultation with those of his majesty's party; who were then in London, and would have been very ready to have advised with him. But he chose rather to converse with the principal leaders of the presbyterian party in the parliament, and with the Scottish commissioners; from whose information he took all his measures; and they assured him, "that nothing could be done for the king, except he would give up the church; that is, extirpate episcopacy; and grant all the lands belonging to cathedral churches to such uses as the parliament should advise;" so that, when he came to the king, he pressed him very earnestly to that condescension.

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[1] Had the king acknowledged the sin of the *extirpation of episcopacy* in Scotland, he might well plead conscience against the repetition of the crime; but, while he thought he acted innocently in the change of church government in Scotland, why he should imagine it a sin to do the same in England, is to me incomprehensible. Had he thought the change impolitic, as unfriendly to monarchy, he had reason enough in the refusal. Perhaps this was at the bottom, and he only chose to cover plain policy by more refined, and so, by bringing religion into the quarrel, strengthen his state views. If this was his end, he not only failed in his purpose, but, in exchange for the solid reputation of an able monarch, got only the disputed character of *sanctity* with his friends, and *bigotry* with his enemies.---W.

But, besides the matter proposed, in which his majesty was unmoveable, he had no esteem of any thing the ambassador said to him, having too late discovered the little affection the cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, by his advice, and upon his undertaking and assurance that his majesty should be well received in the Scottish army, and that they would be firm to his interest, his majesty had ventured to put himself into their hands; and he was no sooner there, than all they with whom Montrevil had treated, disavowed their undertaking what the king had been informed of; and though the envoy did avow, and justify, what he had informed the king, to the faces of the persons who had given their engagements, the cardinal chose rather to recall and discountenance the minister of that crown, than to enter into any expostulation with the parliament, or the Scots, for the effrontery.

The ambassador, by an express, quickly informed the cardinal that the king was too reserved in giving the parliament satisfaction; and therefore wished, "that somebody might be sent over, who was like to have so much credit with his majesty as to persuade him to what was necessary for his service." Upon which, the queen, who was never advised by those who either understood or valued his true interest, consulted with those about her;[1] and sent sir William Davenant, an honest man, and a witty, but in all respects inferior to such a trust, with a letter of credit to the king, (who knew the person well enough under another character than was like to give him much credit[1] in the argument in which he was instructed,) although her majesty had likewise enough declared her opinion to his majesty, "that he should part with the church for his peace and security."

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[1] This is one of the severest things he has permitted himself to say of this wicked woman.—W.

Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French ambassador, easy admission to the king; who heard him patiently all he had to say, and answered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleased with the advice. When he found his majesty unsatisfied, and that he was not like to consent to what was so earnestly desired by them by whose advice he was sent, who undervalued all those scruples of conscience which his majesty himself was strongly possessed with, he took upon himself the confidence to offer some reasons to the king to induce him to yield to what was proposed; and, among other things, said, "it was the advice and opinion of all his friends;" his majesty asking, "what friends?" and he answering, "that it was the opinion of the lord Jermyn," the king said, "that the lord Jermyn did not understand any thing of the church." The other said, "the lord Colepepper was of the same mind." The king said, "Colepepper had no religion:" and asked, "whether the chancellor of the exchequer was of that mind?" to which he answered, "he did not know; for that he was not there, and had deserted the prince:" and thereupon said somewhat from the queen of the displeasure she had conceived against the chancellor: to which the king said, "the chancellor was an honest man, and would never desert him, nor the prince, nor the church;[2] and that he was sorry he was not with his son; but that his wife was mistaken." Davenant then offering some reasons of his own, in which he mentioned the church slightingly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the concession, his majesty was transported with so much passion and indignation, that he gave him more reproachful terms, and a sharper reprehension, than he did ever towards any other man; and forbid him to presume to come again into his presence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted; and returned into France, to give an account of his ill success to those who sent him.

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[1] A poet and a debauchee.---W.

[2] This desertion of the prince was the beginning of those immense services he did him when king, too great to be repaid any otherwise than by his destruction.---W.

As all men's expectations from the courage and activity of the French ambassador in England were thus disappointed and frustrated, by his mean and low carriage both towards the parliament and at Newcastle, so all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the prince of Wales, when his person should once appear in France, were as unworthily complied with.[1] The prince had been above two months with the queen his mother, before any notice was taken of his being in France, by the least message sent from the court to congratulate his arrival there; but that time was spent in debating the formalities of his reception; how the king should treat him? and how he should behave himself towards the king? whether he should take place of monsieur the king's brother? and what kind of ceremonies should be observed between the prince of Wales and his uncle the duke of Orleans? and many such other particulars; in all which they were resolved to give the law themselves; and which had been fitter to have been adjusted in Jersey, before he put himself into their power, than disputed afterwards in the court of France; from which there could be then no appeal.

There can be no doubt but that the cardinal, who was the sole minister of state, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be said, did think the presence of the prince there of the highest importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his power, to persuade the queen that it was as necessary for the affairs of the king her husband, and of her majesty: but now that work was over, and the person of the prince brought into their power, without the least public act or ceremony to invite him thither, it was no less his care to have the parliament in England, and the officers of the army, whom he feared more than the parliament, should believe that the prince came thither without their wish, and in truth against their will; that the crown of France could not refuse to interpose, and mediate, to compose the difference between the parliament and the Scottish nation, and that the kingdoms might be restored to peace; but that when they had performed that office of mediation, they had performed their function; and that they would no more presume to take upon them to judge between the parliament and the Scots, than they had done between the king and the parliament; and that since the prince had come to the queen his mother, from which they could not reasonably restrain him, it should not be attended with any prejudice to the peace of England; nor should he there find any means or assistance to disturb it. And it was believed by those who stood at no great distance from affairs, that the cardinal then laid the foundation for that friendship which was shortly after built up between him and Cromwell, by promising, "that they should receive less inconvenience by the prince's remaining in France, than if he were in any other part of Europe." And it can hardly be believed, with how little respect they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. They were very careful that he might not be looked upon as supported by them either according to his dignity, or for the maintenance of his family; but a mean addition to the pension which the queen received, was made to her majesty, without any mention of the prince her son; who was wholly to depend upon her bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own servants; that they likewise might depend only upon the queen's goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accordingly.

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[1] He means as ill discharged; the author has here expressed himself very inaccurately and improperly.---W.

When the Scots had secured the peace and quiet of their own country, by disbanding the forces under the marquis of Mountrose, and by his transporting himself beyond the seas, and by putting to death several persons of name who had followed the marquis, and had been taken prisoners, among whom sir Robert Spotswood was one, a worthy, honest, loyal gentleman, and as wise a man as that nation had at that time, (whom the king had made secretary of state of that kingdom, in the place of the earl of Lanrick, who was then in arms against him; which, it may be, was a principal cause that the other was put to death:) and when they had with such solemnity and courage made it plain and evident, that they could not, without the most barefaced violation of their faith and allegiance, and of the fundamental principles of Christian religion, ever deliver up their native king, who had put himself into their hands, into the hands of the parliament, against his own will and consent: and when the earl of Lowden had publicly declared to the two houses of parliament in a conference, "that an eternal infamy would lie upon them, and the whole nation, if they should deliver the person of the king; the securing of which was equally their duty, as it was the parliament's, and the disposal of his person in order to that security did equally belong to them as to the parliament;" however, they said, "they would use all the persuasion, and all the importunity they could with the king that his majesty might yield, and consent to the propositions the parliament had sent to him."

The parliament had, upon the first notice of the king's being arrived in the Scottish army, sent a positive command to the committee of both kingdoms residing in the Scottish army, that the person of the king should be forthwith sent to Warwick-castle; but the Scots, who apprehended they could not be long without such an order, had, within two days after his majesty's coming to them, and after he had caused Newark to be delivered up, with wonderful expedition marched towards Newcastle; and were arrived there before they received that order for sending his majesty to Warwick; which proceeding of theirs pleased his majesty very well, among many other things which displeased him; and persuaded him, that though they would observe their own method, they would, in the end, do somewhat for his service.

Upon the receiving that order, they renewed their professions to the parliament of observing punctually all that had been agreed between them; and besought them, "that since they had promised the king, before he left Oxford, to send propositions to him, they would now do it; and said, that if he refused to comply with them, to which they should persuade him, they knew what they were to do." Then they advised the king, and prevailed with him, to send orders to the governor of Oxford to make conditions, and to surrender that place (where his son the duke of York was, and all the council) into the hands of Fairfax, who with his army then besieged them; and likewise to publish a general order, (which they caused to be printed,) that all governors of any garrisons for his majesty should immediately deliver them up to the parliament upon fair and honourable conditions, since his majesty resolved in all things to be advised by his parliament; and till this was done, they said, they could not declare themselves in that manner for his majesty's service and interest, as they resolved to do; for that they were, by their treaty and confederacy, to serve the parliament in such manner as it should direct, until the war should be ended; but, that done, they had no more obligations to the parliament; and that, when his majesty had no more forces on foot, nor garrisons which held out for him, it could not be denied but that the war was at an end; and then they could speak and expostulate with freedom." By which arts, they prevailed with the king to send, and publish such orders as aforesaid; and which indeed, as the case then stood, he could have received no benefit by not publishing.

The parliament was contented, as the more expedite way, (though they were much offended at the presumption of the Scots in neglecting to send the king to Warwick,) to send their propositions to the king (which they knew his majesty would never grant) by commissioners of both houses, who had no other authority or power, than "to demand a positive answer from the king in ten days, and then to return." These propositions were delivered about the end of July; and contained such an eradication of the government of the church and state, that the king told them, "he knew not what answer to make to them, till he should be informed what power or authority they had left to him and his heirs, when he had given all that to them which they desired." He desired, "that he might be removed to some of his own houses, and that he might reside there till, upon a personal treaty with his parliament, such an agreement might be established as the kingdom might enjoy peace and happiness under it; which, he was sure, it could never do by the concessions they proposed."

The Scots, who were enough convinced that his majesty could never be wrought upon to sacrifice the church to their wild lusts and impiety, were as good as their words to the parliament, and used all the rude importunity and threats to his majesty, to persuade him freely to consent to all: though they confessed "that the propositions were higher in many things than they approved of, yet they saw no other means for him to close with his parliament, than by granting what they required."

The chancellor of Scotland told him, "that the consequence of his answer to the propositions was as great, as the ruin or preservation of his crown or kingdoms: that the parliament, after many bloody battles, had got the strong holds and forts of the kingdom into their hands: that they had his revenue, excise, assessments, sequestrations, and power to raise all the men and money of the kingdom: that they had gained victory over all, and that they had a strong army to maintain it; so that they might do what they would with church or state: that they desired neither him, nor any of his race, longer to reign over them; and had sent these propositions to his majesty, without the granting whereof, the kingdom and his people could not be in safety: that if he refused to assent, he would lose all his friends in parliament, lose the city, and lose the country; and that all England would join against him as one man to process and depose him, and to set up another government; and so, that both kingdoms, for either's safety, would agree to settle religion and peace without him, to the ruin of his majesty and his posterity:" and concluded, "that if he left England, he would not be admitted to come and reign in Scotland."

And it is very true that the general assembly of the kirk, which was then sitting in Scotland, had petitioned the conservators of the peace of the kingdom, "that if the king should refuse to give satisfaction to his parliament, he might not be permitted to come into Scotland." This kind of argumentation did more provoke than persuade the king; he told them, with great resolution and magnanimity, "that no condition they could reduce him to, could be half so miserable and grievous to him, as that which they would persuade him to reduce himself to; and therefore bid them proceed their own way; and that though they had all forsaken him, God had not."

The parliament had now received the answer they expected; and, forthwith, required "the Scots to quit the kingdom, and to deliver the person of the king to such persons as they should appoint to receive him;" who should attend upon his majesty from Newcastle to Holmby, a house of his majesty's at a small distance from Northampton, a town and country of very eminent disaffection to the king throughout the war; and declared, "that his majesty should be treated, with respect to the safety and preservation of his person, according to the covenant: and that, after his coming to Holmby, he should be attended by such as they should appoint; and that when the Scots were removed out of England, the parliament would join with their brethren of Scotland again to persuade the king to pass the propositions; which if he refused to do, the house would do nothing that might break the union of the two kingdoms, but would endeavour to preserve the same."

The Scots now begun again to talk sturdily, and denied "that the parliament of England had power absolutely to dispose of the person of the king without their approbation;" and the parliament as loudly replied, "that they had nothing to do in England, but to observe their orders;" and added such threats to their reasons, as might let them see they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact obedience from them, if they refused to yield it. But these discourses were only kept up till they could adjust all accounts between them, and agree what price they should pay for the delivery of his person, whom one side was resolved to have, and the other as resolved not to keep; and so they quickly agreed that upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more upon days agreed upon, they would deliver the king up into such hands as the parliament should appoint to receive him.

And upon this infamous contract that excellent prince was, in the end of January, wickedly given up, by his Scottish subjects, to those of his English who were entrusted by the parliament to receive him; which had appointed a committee of lords and commons, to go to the place agreed upon with a party of horse and foot of the army which were subject to the orders of that committee, and the committee itself to go to Newcastle to receive that town as well as the king; where, and to whom, his majesty was delivered.

They received him with the same formality of respect as he had been treated with by the Scots, and with the same strictness restrained all resort of those to his majesty, who were of doubtful affections to them and their cause. Servants were particularly appointed, and named by the parliament, to attend upon his person and service, in all relations; amongst which, in the first place, they preferred those who had faithfully adhered to them against their master; and, where such were wanting, they found others who had manifested their affection to them. And, in this distribution, the presbyterian party in the houses did what they pleased, and were thought to govern all. The independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and interest, till they had dismissed their friends, the Scots, out of the kingdom; and permitting them to put their friends about the person of the king, and to choose such a guard as they could confide in, to attend his majesty.

Of the committee employed to govern and direct all, major general Brown was one, who had a great name and interest in the city, and with all the presbyterian party, and had done great service to the parliament in the war under the earl of Essex, and was a diligent and stout commander. In this manner, and with this attendance, his majesty was brought to his own house at Holmby in Northamptonshire; a place he had taken much delight in: and there he was to stay till the parliament and the army (for the army now took upon them to have a share, and to give their opinion in the settlement that should be made) should determine what should be further done.

In the mean time, the committee paid all respects to his majesty; and he enjoyed those exercises he most delighted in; and seemed to have all liberty, but to confer with persons he most desired, and to have such servants about him as he could trust. That which most displeased him, was, that they would not permit him to have his own chaplains; but ordered presbyterian ministers to attend for divine service; and his majesty, utterly refusing to be present at their devotions, was compelled at those hours to be his own chaplain in his bedchamber; where he constantly used the Common Prayer by himself. Yet his majesty bore this constraint so heavily, that he writ a letter to the house of peers, in which he enclosed a list of the names of thirteen of his chaplains; any two of which he desired might have liberty to attend him for his devotion. To which, after many days consideration, they returned this answer; "that all those chaplains were disaffected to the established government of the church, and had not taken the covenant; but that there were others who had, who, if his majesty pleased, should be sent to him." After this answer, his majesty thought it to no purpose to importune them further in that particular; but, next to the having his own chaplains, he would have been best pleased to have been without any; they who were sent by them being men of mean parts, and of most impertinent and troublesome confidence and importunity.

Whilst those disputes continued between the parliament and the Scots concerning the king's person, the army proceeded with great success in reducing those garrisons which still continued in his majesty's obedience; whereof though some surrendered more easily, and with less resistance than they might have made, satisfying themselves with the king's general order, and that there was no reasonable expectation of relief, and therefore that it would not be amiss, by an early submission, to obtain better conditions for themselves; yet others defended themselves with notable obstinacy to the last, to the great damage of the enemy, and to the detaining the army from uniting together; without which they could not pursue the great designs they had. And this was one of the reasons that made the treaty with the Scots depend so long, and that the presbyterians continued their authority and credit so long; and it was observed, that those garrisons which were maintained and defended with the greatest courage and virtue, in the end, obtained as good and as honourable conditions, as any of those who surrendered upon the first summons.

Which was the case of Pendennis castle, which endured the longest siege, and held out the last of any fort or castle in England; and refused all summons, nor admitted any treaty till all their provisions were so far consumed, that they had not victual left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated, and carried themselves in the treaty with such resolution and unconcernedness, that the enemy concluded they were in no straits; and so gave them the conditions they proposed; which were as good as any garrison in England had accepted. This castle was defended by the governor thereof, John Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall, an old gentleman of near fourscore years of age, and of one of the best estates and interest in that county; who, with the assistance of his son Richard Arundel, (who was then a colonel in the army; a stout and diligent officer; and was by the king after his return made a baron, lord Arundel of Trerice, in memory of his father's service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the war,) maintained and defended the same to the last extremity.

There remained with him in that service many gentlemen of the country of great loyalty, amongst whom sir Harry Killigrew was one; who, being an intimate friend of the chancellor of the exchequer, resolved to go to Jersey; and, as soon as the castle was surrendered, took the first opportunity of a vessel then in the harbour of Falmouth, to transport himself with some officers and soldiers to St. Maloes in Brittany; from whence he writ to the chancellor in Jersey, that he would procure a bark of that island to go to St. Maloes to fetch him thither; which, by the kindness of sir George Carteret, was presently sent, with a longing desire to receive him into that island; the two lords, Capel and Hopton, and the governor, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the vessel at sea, (which they well knew,) they all made haste to the harbour to receive their friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his body there in a coffin, he having died at St. Maloes within a day after he had written his letter.

After the treaty was signed for delivering the castle, he had walked out to discharge some arms which were in his chamber; among which, a carabine that had been long charged, in the shooting off, broke; and a splinter of it struck him in the forehead; which, though it drew much blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger; so that his friends could not persuade him to stay there till the wound was cured; but, the blood being stopped, and the chirurgeon having bound it up, he prosecuted his intended voyage; and at his landing at St. Maloes, he writ that letter; believing his wound would give him little trouble. But his letter was no sooner gone than he sent for a chirurgeon; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he died, having desired that his dead body might be sent to Jersey; where he was decently buried. He was a very gallant gentleman, of a noble extraction, and a fair revenue in land; of excellent parts and great courage: he had one only son, who was killed before him in a party that fell upon the enemy's quarters near Bridgewater; where he behaved himself with remarkable courage, and was generally lamented.

Sir Harry was of the house of commons; and though he had no other relation to the court than the having many friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly beloved, he was most zealous and passionate in opposing all the extravagant proceedings of the parliament. And when the earl of Essex was chosen general, and the several members of the house stood up, and declared, what horse they would raise and maintain, and that they would live and die with the earl their general, one saying he would raise ten horses, and another twenty, he stood up, and said, "He would provide a good horse, and a good buff coat, and a good pair of pistols, and then he doubted not but he should find a good cause;" and so went out of the house, and rode post into Cornwall, where his estate and interest lay; and there joined with those gallant gentlemen his friends, who first received the lord Hopton, and raised those forces which did so many famous actions in the west.

He would never take any command in the army; but they who had, consulted with no man more. He was in all actions, and in those places where was most danger, having great courage and a pleasantness of humour in danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty, took care not to be within his view; for he was a very sharp speaker, and cared not for angering those who deserved to be reprehended. The Arundels, Slannings, Trevanions, and all the signal men of that county, infinitely loved his spirit and sincerity; and his credit and interest had a great influence upon all but those who did not love the king; and towards those he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by men of moderate tempers; for he thought all such prepared to rebel, when a little success should encourage them; and was many times too much offended with men who wished well, and whose constitutions and complexions would not permit them to express the same frankness, which his nature and keenness of spirit could not suppress. His loss was much lamented by all good men.

From the time that the king was brought to Holmby, and whilst he stayed there, he was afflicted with the same pressures concerning the church, which had disquieted him at Newcastle; the parliament not remitting any of their insolencies in their demands: all which was imputed to the presbyterians, who were thought to exercise the whole power, and begun to give orders for the lessening their great charge by disbanding some troops of their army, and sending others for Ireland; which they made no doubt speedily to reduce; and declared, "that they would then disband all armies, that the kingdom might be governed by the known laws."

This temper in the houses raised another spirit in the army; which did neither like the presbyterian government that they saw ready to be settled in the church, nor that the parliament should so absolutely dispose of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and Cromwell, who had the sole influence upon the army, underhand, made them petition the houses against any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himself, and his officers, took upon them to preach and pray publicly to their troops, and admitted no chaplains in the army, but such as bitterly inveighed against the presbyterian government, as more tyrannical than episcopacy; and the common soldiers, as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach among themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches, and preached to the people; who quickly became inspired with the same spirit; women as well as men taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great a noise and confusion in all opinions concerning religion, as there was in the civil government of the state; no man being suffered to be called in question for delivering any opinion in religion, by speaking or writing, how profane, heretical, or blasphemous soever it was; "which, they said, was to restrain the Spirit."[1]

Liberty of conscience was now the common argument and quarrel, whilst the presbyterian party proceeded with equal bitterness against the several sects as enemies to all godliness, as they had done, and still continued to do, against the prelatical party; and finding themselves superior in the two houses, little doubted, by their authority and power there, to be able to reform the army, and to new model it again; which they would, no doubt, have attempted, if it had not pleased God at that time to have taken away the earl of Essex some months before this; who died without being sensible of sickness, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the mischief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities himself had received from the ungrateful parliament, and wonderful apprehension and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the king and the kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the city at that time, and of the two houses, he might, if he had lived, have given some check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not suffer a man, who, out of the pride and vanity of his nature, rather than the wickedness of his heart, had been made an instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work: though his constitution and temper might very well entitle him to the lethargic indisposition of which he died, yet it was loudly said by many of his friends, "that he was poisoned."

Sure it is that Cromwell and his party (for he was now declared head of the army, though Fairfax continued general in name) were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only person whose credit and interest they feared, without any esteem of his person.

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[1] This they called *liberty of prophesying.* The excellent Jer. Taylor took advantage of this phrase to make it the title of one of the finest books written in defence of *religious liberty* and toleration.—W.

And now, that they might more substantially enter into dispute and competition with the parliament, and go a share with them in settling the kingdom, (as they called it,) the army erected a kind of parliament among themselves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the king's army, and when they had no more enemy to contend with in the field, and after they had purged their army of all those inconvenient officers, of whose entire submission, and obedience to all their dictates, they had not confidence, set aside, their self-denying ordinance, and got their principal officers of the army, and others of their friends, whose principles they well knew, to be elected members of the house of commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expelled by them for adhering to the king. By this means, Fairfax himself, Ireton, Harrison, and many other of the independents, officers and gentlemen, of the several counties, who were transported with new fancies in religion, and were called by a new name *fanatics*,[1] sat in the house of commons; notwithstanding all which, the presbyterians still carried it.

So that about this time, that they might be upon a nearer level with the parliament, the army made choice of a number of such officers as they liked; which they called the general's council of officers; who were to resemble the house of peers; and the common soldiers made choice of three or four of each regiment, most corporals or sergeants, and none above the degree of an ensign, who were called agitators, and were to be as a house of commons to the council of officers. These two representatives met severally, and considered of all the acts and orders made by the parliament towards settling the kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing, or disbanding of the army: and, upon mutual messages and conferences between each other, they resolved in the first place, and declared, "that they would not be divided or disbanded, before their full arrears were paid, and before full provision was made for liberty of conscience; which, they said, was the ground of the quarrel, and for which so many of their friends' lives had been lost, and so much of their own blood had been spilt; and that hitherto there was so little security provided in that point, that there was a greater persecution now against religious and godly men, than ever had been in the king's government, when the bishops were their judges."

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[1] The thing was new, and therefore it could not but be that they should have a new name.---W.

They said, "they did not look upon themselves as a band of janizaries, hired and entertained only to fight their battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation of which they were a part; and before they laid down those arms, they would see all those ends well provided for, that the people might not hereafter undergo those grievances which they had formerly suffered. They complained that some members of the army had been sent for by the parliament, and committed to prison, which was against their privilege; since all soldiers ought to be tried by a council of war, and not by any other judicatory; and therefore they desired redress in these, and many other particulars of as ingrateful a nature; and that such as were imprisoned and in custody, might be forthwith set at liberty; without which they could not think themselves justly dealt with." And with this declaration and address, they sent three or four of their own members to the house of commons; who delivered it at the bar with wonderful confidence.

The soldiers published a vindication, as they called it, of their proceedings and resolutions, and directed it to their general, in which they complained of a design to disband and new model the army; "which, they said, was a plot contrived by some men who had lately tasted of sovereignty; and, being lifted up above the ordinary sphere of servants, endeavoured to become masters, and were degenerated into tyrants." They therefore declared, "that they would neither be employed for the service of Ireland, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their desires were granted, and the rights and liberties of the subjects should be vindicated and maintained." This apology, or vindication, being signed by many inferior officers, the parliament declared them to be enemies to the state: and caused some of them, who talked loudest, to be imprisoned. Upon which a new address was made to their general; wherein they complained "how disdainfully they were used by the parliament, for whom they had ventured their lives, and lost their blood: that the privileges, which were due to them as soldiers and as subjects, were taken from them; and when they complained of the injuries they received, they were abused, beaten, and dragged into gaols."

Hereupon, the general was prevailed with to write a letter to a member of parliament, who shewed it to the house; in which he took notice of several petitions, which were prepared in the city of London, and some other counties of the kingdom, against the army; and "that it was looked upon as very strange, that the officers of the army might not be permitted to petition, when so many petitions were received against them; and that he much doubted that the army might draw to a rendezvous, and think of some other way for their own vindication."

This manner of proceeding by the soldiers, but especially the general seeming to be of their mind, troubled the parliament; yet they resolved not to suffer their counsels to be censured, or their actions controlled, by those who were retained by them, and who lived upon their pay. And therefore, after many high expressions against the presumption of several officers and soldiers, they declared, "that whosoever should refuse, being commanded, to engage himself in the service of Ireland, should be disbanded." The army was resolved not to be subdued in their first so declared resolution, and fell into a direct and high mutiny, and called for the arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to levy for themselves; nor could they be in any degree appeased, till the declaration that the parliament had made against them was rased out of the journal book of both houses, and a month's pay sent to them; nor were they satisfied with all this, but talked very loud, "that they knew how to make themselves as considerable as the parliament, and where to have their services better valued and rewarded;" which so frighted those at Westminster, that they appointed a committee of lords and commons, whereof some were very acceptable to the army, to go to them, and to treat with a committee chosen of the officers of the army, upon the best expedients that might be applied to the composing these distempers. Now the army thought itself upon a level with the parliament, when they had a committee of the one authorized to treat with a committee of the other; which likewise raised the spirits of Fairfax, who had never thought of opposing or disobeying the parliament; and disposed him to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the army, when he saw it was so much complied with and submitted to by all men.

Cromwell, hitherto, carried himself with that rare dissimulation, (in which sure he was a very great master,) that he seemed exceedingly incensed against this insolence of the soldiers; was still in the house of commons when any such addresses were made; and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the cause of the commitment, of some of the officers. He proposed, "that the general might be sent down to the army; who," he said, "would conjure down this mutinous spirit quickly;" and he was so easily believed, that he himself was sent once or twice to compose the army; where after he had stayed two or three days, he would again return to the house, and complain heavily "of the great licence that was got into the army; that, for his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, and of those who desired that the nation should be again imbrued in blood, he was rendered so odious unto them, that they had a purpose to kill him, if, upon some discovery made to him, he had not escaped out of their hands." And in these, and the like discourses, when he spake of the nation's being to be involved in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted man in the world with the sense of the calamities which were like to ensue. But, as many of the wiser sort had long discovered his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisy could not longer be concealed. The most active officers and agitators were known to be his own creatures, and such who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction. So that it was resolved by the principal persons of the house of commons, that when he came the next day into the house, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming, that if they had once severed his person from the army, they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the least jealousy of the general Fairfax, whom they knew to be a perfect presbyterian in his judgment; and that Cromwell had the ascendant over him purely by his dissimulation, and pretence of conscience and sincerity. There is no doubt Fairfax did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other had those wicked designs in his heart against the king, or the least imagination of disobeying the parliament.

This purpose of seizing upon the person of Cromwell could not be carried so secretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune in having lost all reputation, and credit, and authority in the army, and that his life would be in danger if he were with it, when the house expected every minute his presence, they were informed that he was met out of the town by break of day, with one servant only, on the way to the army; where he had appointed a rendezvous of some regiments of the horse, and from whence he writ a letter to the house of commons, "that having the night before received a letter from some officers of his own regiment, that the jealousy the troops had conceived of him, and of his want of kindness towards them, was much abated, so that they believed, if he would be quickly present with them, they would all in a short time by his advice be reclaimed, upon this he had made all the haste he could; and did find that the soldiers had been abused by misinformation; and that he hoped to discover the fountain from whence it sprung; and in the mean time desired that the general, and the other officers in the house, and such as remained about the town, might be presently sent to their quarters; and that he believed it would be very necessary in order to the suppression of the late distempers, and for the prevention of the like for the time to come, that there might be a general rendezvous of the army; of which the general would best consider, when he came down; which he wished might be hastened." It was now to no purpose to discover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealousy of a person who was out of their reach; and so they expected a better conjuncture; and in few days after, the general and the other officers left the town, and went to their quarters.

The same morning that Cromwell left London, cornet Joyce, who was one of the agitators in the army, a tailor, a fellow who had two or three years before served in a very inferior employment in Mr. Hollis's house, came with a squadron of fifty horse to Holmby, where the king was, about the break of day; and, without any interruption by the guard of horse or foot which waited there, came with two or three more, and knocked at the king's chamber door, and said "he must presently speak with the king." His majesty, surprised with the manner of it, rose out of his bed; and, half dressed, caused the door to be opened, which he knew otherwise would be quickly broken open; they who waited in the chamber being persons of whom he had little knowledge, and less confidence. As soon as the door was opened, Joyce, and two or three more, came into the chamber, with their hats off, and pistols in their hands. Joyce told the king, "that he must go with him." His majesty asked, "whither?" he answered, "to the army." The king asked him, "where the army was?" he said, "they would carry him to the place where it was." His majesty asked, "by what authority they came?" Joyce answered, "by this;" and shewed him his pistol; and desired his majesty, "that he would cause himself to be dressed, because it was necessary they should make haste." None of the other soldiers spoke a word; and Joyce, saving the bluntness and positiveness of the few words he spoke, behaved himself not rudely. The king said, "he could not stir before he spoke with the committee to whom he had been delivered, and who were trusted by the parliament;" and so appointed one of those who waited upon him, to call them. The committee had been as much surprised with the noise as the king had been, and quickly came to his chamber, and asked Joyce, "whether he had any orders from the parliament?" he said, *No.* "From the general?" *No.* "What authority he came by?" to which he made no other answer, than he had made to the king, and held up his pistol. They said, "they would write to the parliament to know their pleasure;" Joyce said, "they might do so, but the king must presently go with him." Colonel Brown had sent for some of the troops who were appointed for the king's guard, but they came not; he spoke then with the officer who commanded those who were at that time upon the guard, and found that they would make no resistance: so that after the king had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cause to believe that he was resolved not to have gone, which had been to no purpose, and after he had broken his fast, he went into his coach, attended by the few servants who were put about him, and went whither cornet Joyce would conduct him; there being no part of the army known to be within twenty miles of Holmby at that time; and that which administered most cause of apprehension, was, that those officers who were of the guard, declared, "that the squadron which was commanded by Joyce consisted not of soldiers of any one regiment, but were men of several troops, and several regiments, drawn together under him, who was not the proper officer;" so that the king did in truth believe, that their purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him. The committee quickly gave notice to the parliament of what had passed, with all the circumstances; and it was received with all imaginable consternation; nor could any body imagine what the purpose and resolution was.

Nor were they at the more ease, or in any degree pleased with the account they received from the general himself; who by his letter informed them, "that the soldiers at Holmby had brought the king from thence; and that his majesty lay the next night at colonel Montague's house, and would be the next day at Newmarket: that the ground thereof was from some apprehension of some strength gathered to force the king from thence; whereupon he had sent colonel Whaley's regiment to meet the king." He protested, "that his remove was without his consent, or of the officers about him, or of the body of the army, and without their desire or privity: that he would take care for the security of his majesty's person from danger;" and assured the parliament, "that the whole army endeavoured peace, and were far from opposing presbytery, or affecting independency, or from any purpose to maintain a licentious freedom in religion, or the interest of any particular party, but were resolved to leave the absolute determination of all to the parliament."

It was upon the third of June that the king was taken from Holmby by cornet Joyce, a full year after he had delivered himself to the Scots at Newark; in all which time, the army had been at leisure to contrive all ways to free itself from the servitude of the parliament, whilst the presbyterians believed, that, in spite of a few factious independent officers, it was entirely at their devotion, and could never prove disobedient to their commands; and those few wise men, who discerned the foul designs of those officers, and by what degrees they stole the hearts and affections of the soldiers, had not credit enough to be believed by their own party. The joint confidence of the unanimous affection of the city of London to all their purposes, made them despise all opposition; but now, when they saw the king taken out of their hands in this manner, and with these circumstances, they found all their measures broke by which they had formed all their counsels. And as this letter from the general administered too much cause of jealousy of what was to succeed, so a positive information about the same time by many officers, confirmed by a letter which the lord mayor of London had received, that the whole army was upon its march, and would be in London the next day by noon, so distracted them, that they appeared besides themselves: however, they voted, " that the houses should sit all the next day, being Sunday; and that Mr. Marshall should be there to pray for them: that the committee of safety should sit up all that night to consider what was to be done: that the lines of communication should be strongly guarded, and all the trained bands of London should be drawn together upon pain of death." All shops were shut up, and such a general confusion over all the town, and in the faces of all men, as if the army had already entered the town. The parliament writ a letter to the general, desiring him, " that no part of the army might come within five and twenty miles of London; and that the king's person might be delivered to the former commissioners, who had attended upon his majesty at Holmby; and that colonel Rossiter, and his regiment, might be appointed for the guard of his person." The general returned for answer, " that the army was come to St. Alban's before the desire of the parliament came to his hands; but that, in obedience to their commands, he would advance no further; and desired that a month's pay might presently be sent for the army." In which they deferred not to gratify them; though as to the re-delivery of the king to the former commissioners, no other answer was returned, than "that they might rest assured, that all care should be taken for his majesty's security."

From that time both Cromwell and Ireton appeared in the council of officers, which they had never before done; and their expostulations with the parliament begun to be more brisk and contumacious than they had been. The king found himself at Newmarket attended by greater troops and superior officers; so that he was presently freed from any subjection to Mr. Joyce; which was no small satisfaction to him; and they who were about him appeared men of better breeding than the former, and paid his majesty all the respect imaginable, and seemed to desire to please him in all things. All restraint was taken off from persons resorting to him, and he saw every day the faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no sooner desired that some of his chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his devotion, but it was yielded to,[1] and they who were named by him (who were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Hammond) were presently sent, and gave their attendance, and performed their function at the ordinary hours, in their accustomed formalities; all persons, who had a mind to it, being suffered to be present, to his majesty's infinite satisfaction; who begun to believe that the army was not so much his enemy as it was reported to be; and though Fairfax nor Cromwell had not yet waited upon him, the army had sent an address to him full of protestation of duty, and besought him "that he would be content, for some time, to reside among them, until the affairs of the kingdom were put into such a posture as he might find all things to his own content and security; which they infinitely desired to see as soon as might be; and to that purpose made daily instances to the parliament." In the mean time his majesty sat still, or removed to such places as were most convenient for the march of the army; being in all places as well provided for and accommodated, as he had used to be in any progress; the best gentlemen of the several counties through which he passed, daily resorted to him, without distinction; he was attended by some of his old trusty servants in the places nearest his person; and that which gave him most encouragement to believe that they meant well, was, that in the army's address to the parliament, they desired "that care might be taken for settling the king's rights, according to the several professions they had made in their declarations; and that the royal party might be treated with more candour and less rigour;" and many good officers who had served his majesty faithfully, were civilly received by the officers of the army, and lived quietly in their quarters; which they could not do any where else; which raised a great reputation to the army, throughout the kingdom, and as much reproach upon the parliament.

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[1] This was not so much to cajole the king, though there was something too in that, as to appear consistent in their great principle of *liberty of conscience.*---W.

The parliament at this time had recovered its spirits, when they saw the army did not march towards them, and not only remained at St. Alban's, but was drawn back to a further distance; which persuaded them, that their general was displeased with the former advance: and so they proceeded with all passion and vigour against those principal officers, who, they knew, contrived all these proceedings. They published declarations to the kingdom, "that they desired to bring the king in honour to his parliament; which was their business from the beginning, and that he was detained prisoner against his will in the army; and that they had great reason to apprehend the safety of his person." The army, on the other hand, declared that his majesty was neither prisoner, nor detained against his will; and appealed to his majesty himself, and to all his friends, who had liberty to repair to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was not treated with more respect, since he came into the army than he had been at Holmby, or during the time he remained in those places, and with that retinue that the parliament had appointed?" The city seemed very unanimously devoted to the parliament, and incensed against the army; and seemed resolute, not only with their trained bands and auxiliary regiments to assist and defend the parliament, but appointed some of the old officers who had served under the earl of Essex, and had been disbanded under the new model, as Waller, Massey, and others, to list new forces; towards which there was not like to be want of men out of their old forces, and such of the king's as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear so much, as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the king, and unite with his party, of which there was so much show; and many unskilful men, who wished it, bragged too much; and therefore the parliament sent a committee to his majesty, with an address of another style than they had lately used, with many professions of duty; and declaring, " that if he was not, in all respects, treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it was not their fault, who desired he might be at full liberty, and do what he would;" hoping that the king would have been induced to desire to come to London, and to make complaint of the army's having taken him from Holmby; by which they believed the king's party would be disabused, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the army; and then, they thought, they should be hard enough for them.

The king was in great doubt how to carry himself; he thought himself so barbarously used by the presbyterians, and had so ill an opinion of all the principal persons who governed them, that he had no mind to put himself into their hands. On the other side, he was far from being satisfied with the army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his friends were suffered to resort to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable; and though the officers and soldiers appeared, for the most part, civil to him, they were all at least as vigilant, as the former guards had been; so that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had desired it. Fairfax had been with him, and kissed his hand, and made such professions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery;[1] his authority was of no use, because he resigned himself entirely to Cromwell; who had been, and Ireton likewise, with the king, without either of them offering to kiss his hand; otherwise, they behaved themselves with good manners towards him. His majesty used all the address he could towards them to draw some promise from them; but they were so reserved, and stood so much upon their guard, and used so few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they said: they excused themselves "for not seeing his majesty often, upon the great jealousies the parliament had of them, towards whom they professed all fidelity." The persons who resorted to his majesty, and brought advices from others who durst not yet offer to come themselves, brought several opinions to him; some thinking the army would deal sincerely with his majesty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards performed: so that the king wisely concluded that he would neither reject the parliament addresses by any neglect, nor disoblige the army by appearing to have jealousy of them, or a desire to be out of their hands; which he could hardly have done, if he had known a better place to have resorted to. So he desired both parties "to hasten their consultations, that the kingdom might enjoy peace and happiness: in which he should not be without a share; and he would pray to God to bring this to pass as soon as was possible."

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[1] They were equally averse to restore the king to his rights, with this difference, the presbyterians had an unconquerable aversion to episcopacy, and the independents to monarchy. The king, who thought episcopacy and monarchy must stand or fall together, was resolved to preserve both, or perish in the attempt; and he possibly might have preserved both, had his abilities been equal to his good-will.—W.

The news of the king's being in the army, of his freedom in the exercise of his religion, which he had been so long without, and that some of his servants, with whom he was well pleased, had liberty to attend upon him, made every body abroad, as well as those at home, hope well; and the king himself writ to the queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the Scots. Sir John Berkley, after his surrender of Exeter, and the spending his six months allowed by the articles to solicit his affairs where he would, had transported himself into France, and waited upon the queen at Paris, being still a menial servant to her majesty, and having a friend in that court that governed,[1] and loved him better than any body else did. As soon as the reports came thither of the king's being with the army, he repeated many discourses he had held with the officers of the army, whilst they treated with him of the delivery of Exeter; how he had told them, " upon how slippery ground they stood; that the parliament, when they had served their turn, would dismiss them with reproach, and give them very small rewards for the great service they had done for them; that they should do well, seasonably to think of a safe retreat, which could be no where but under the protection of the king; who by their courage and virtue was brought very low; and if they raised him again, he must owe it all to them; and his posterity, as well as himself, and all his party, must forever acknowledge it; by which they would raise their fortunes, as well as their fame, to the greatest degree men could aim at;" which, he said, made such an impression upon this and that officer, whom he named, " that they told him at parting, that they should never forget what he had said to them; and that they already observed that every day produced somewhat that would put them in mind of it." In a word, " he had foretold all that was since come to pass, and he was most confident, that, if he were now with them, he should be welcome, and have credit enough to bring them to reason, and to do the king great service;" and offered, without any delay, to make the journey. The queen believed all he said; and they who did not, were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that loved him best, was very willing to be without him;[1] and so receiving the queen's letter of recommendation of him to the king, who knew him very little, and that little not without great prejudice, he left Paris, and made all possible haste into England. John Ashburnham, who was driven from the king by the Scots after he had conducted his majesty to them, had transported himself into France, and was at this time residing in Rouen; having found, upon his address to the queen at Paris upon his first arrival, that his abode in some other place would not be ungrateful to her majesty, and so he removed to Rouen; where he had the society of many who had served the king in the most eminent qualifications. When he heard where the king was, and that there was not the same restraint that had been formerly, he resolved to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reason to doubt but that his presence would be very acceptable to the king; and though the other envoy from Paris, and he, did not make their journey into England together, nor had the least communication with each other, being in truth of several parties and purposes,[1] yet they arrived there, and at the army, near the same time.

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[1] Jermyn.—W.

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[1] Jermyn.—W

Berkley first applied himself to those subordinate officers with whom he had some acquaintance at Exeter, and they informing their superiors of his arrival and application, they were well pleased that he was come. They were well acquainted with his talent, and knew his foible, that, by flattering and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep design from his contrivance; and so they permitted him freely to attend the king, about whose person he had no title, or relation, which required any constant waiting upon him.

Ashburnham had, by some friends, a recommendation both to Cromwell and Ireton, who knew the credit he had with the king, and that his majesty would be very well pleased to have his attendance, and look upon it as a testimony of their respect to him. They knew likewise that he was an implacable enemy to the Scots, and no friend to the other presbyterians, and though he had some ordinary craft in insinuating, he was of no deep and piercing judgment to discover what was not unwarily exposed, and a free speaker of what he imagined:[2] so they likewise left him at liberty to repair to the king; and these two gentlemen came near about the same time to his majesty, when the army was drawing together, with a purpose, which was not yet published, of marching to London; his majesty being still quartered in those places which were more proper for that purpose.

They were both welcome to his majesty, the one bringing a special recommendation from the queen, and, to make himself the more valuable, assured his majesty, "that he was sent for by the officers of the army, as one they would trust, and that they had received him with open arms; and, without any scruple, gave him leave to wait upon him:" the other needed no recommendation, the king's own inclinations disposing him to be very gracious to him; and so his majesty wished them "to correspond with each other, and to converse with his several friends, who did not yet think fit to resort to him; and to receive their advice; to discover as much as they could of the intentions of both parties, and impart what was fit to the king, till, upon a further discovery, his majesty might better judge what to do." These two were the principal agents, (they conferring with all his majesty's friends, and, as often as they desired, with the officers of the army,) upon whose information and advice his majesty principally depended, though they rarely conferred together with the same persons, and never with any of the officers, who pretended not to trust one another enough to speak with that freedom before each other, as they would to one of them; and their acquaintance among the officers not being principally with the same men, their informations and advices were often very different, and more perplexed than informed his majesty.

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[1] Berkley was of the queen's faction; Ashburnham of the king's —W.

[2] i. e. what every body gets at court.—W.

The very high contests between the parliament and the army, in which neither side could be persuaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many prudent men believe that both sides would, in the end, be willing to make the king the umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The parliament thought that their name and authority, which had carried them through so great undertakings, and reduced the whole kingdom to their obedience, could not be overpowered by their own army, raised and paid by themselves, and to whose dictates the people would never submit. They thought the king's presence amongst them gave them all their present reputation; and were not without apprehension that the ambition of some of the officers, and their malice to the parliament, when they saw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might dispose them to an entire conjunction with the king's party and interest; and then, all the penalties of treason, rebellion, and trespasses, must be discharged at their costs; and therefore they laboured, by all the public and private means they could, to persuade the king to own his being detained prisoner by the army against his will, or to withdraw himself by some way from them, and repair to Whitehall; and, in either of those cases, they did not doubt, first, to divide the army, (for they still believed the general fast to them,) and by degrees to bring them to reason, and to be disbanded, as many as were not necessary for the service of Ireland; and then, having the king to themselves, and all his party being obnoxious to those penalties for their delinquency, they should be well able, by gratifying some of the greatest persons of the nobility with immunity and indemnity, to settle the government in such a manner, as to be well recompensed for all the adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

On the other hand, the army had no dread of the authority and power of the parliament; which they knew had been so far prostituted, that it had lost most of its reverence with the people. But it had great apprehension, that, by its conjunction with the city, it might indeed recover credit with the kingdom, and withhold the pay of the army, and thereby make some division amongst them; and if the person of the king should be likewise with them, and thereby his party should likewise join with them, they should be to begin their work again, or to make their peace with those who were as much provoked by them as the king himself had been. And therefore they were sensible that they enjoyed a present benefit by the king's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward respect that was due to his majesty, and the civilities they made profession of towards all his party, and the permission of his chaplains, and other servants, to resort to him; and cultivated all these artifices with great address, suppressing or discountenancing the tyranny of the presbyterians in the country committees, and all other places, where they exercised notable rigour against all who had been of the king's party, or not enough of theirs, (for neuters found no excuse for being of no party.) When they found it fit to make any lusty declaration against the parliament, and exclaim against their tyrannical proceedings against the army, they always inserted somewhat that might look like candour and tenderness towards the king's party, complained of "the affront and indignity done to the army by the parliament's not observing the articles which had been made upon surrender of garrisons, but proceeding against those on whose behalf those articles were made, with more severity than was agreeable to justice, and to the intention of the articles; whereby the honour and faith of the army suffered, and was complained of; all which, they said, they would have remedied." Whereupon many hoped that they should be excused from making any compositions, and entertained such other imaginations as pleased themselves, and the other party well liked; knowing they could demolish all those structures as soon as they received no benefit by them themselves.

The king had, during the time he stayed at Holmby, writ to the house of peers, that his children might have leave to come to him, and to reside for some time with him. From the time that Oxford had been surrendered, upon which the duke of York had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he should have liberty to go to such place as the king should direct, which was very earnestly pressed, and insisted on by the lords of the council there, as long as they could; but appointed their committee to receive him with all respect, and to bring him to London: from that time, I say, the duke of York was committed to the care of the earl of Northumberland, together with the duke of Gloucester, and the princess, who had been by the king left under the tuition of the countess of Dorset, but from the death of that countess the parliament had presumed, that they might be sure to keep them in their power, to put them into the custody of the lady Vere, an old lady much in their favour, but not at all ambitious of that charge, though there was a competent allowance assigned for their support. They were now removed from her, and placed all together with the earl of Northumberland, who received and treated them, in all respects, as was suitable to their birth, and his own duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his instructions from the parliament, permitted to do; and they had absolutely refused to gratify the king in that particular;[1] of which his majesty no sooner took notice to Fairfax, than he writ a letter to the parliament, "that the king much desired to have the sight and company of his children, and that if they might not be allowed to be longer with him, that at least they might dine with him;" and he sent them word that, on such a day, "the king, who attended the motion of the army, and was quartered only where they pleased, would dine at Maidenhead." There his children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to quarter and stay some time at Caversham, a house of the lord Craven's, near Reading, his children were likewise suffered to go thither, and remained with him two days; which was the greatest satisfaction the king could receive; and the receiving whereof he imputed to the civility of the general, and the good disposition of the army; which made so much the more impression upon him, in that he had never made any one proposition in which he had been gratified, where the presbyterian spirit had power to deny it.[1]

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[1] Merciless tyrants.---W.

In the house of commons, which was now the scene of all the action that displeased and incensed the army, (for the house of peers was shrunk into so inconsiderable a number, and their persons not considerable after the death of the earl of Essex, except those who were affected to, or might be disposed by, the army,) they were wholly guided by Hollis, and Stapleton, Lewis, and Glyn, who had been very popular and notorious from the beginning, and by Waller, and Massey, and Brown, who had served in commands in the army, and performed at some times very signal service, and were exceedingly beloved in the city, and two or three others who followed their dictates, and were subservient to their directions. These were all men of parts, interest, and signal courage, and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which they discerned the army to have, and that it was wholly to be disposed according to the designs of Cromwell, but had likewise declared animosities against the persons of the most active and powerful officers; as Hollis had one day, upon a very hot debate in the house, and some rude expressions which fell from Ireton, persuaded him to walk out of the house with him, and then told him, "that he should presently go over the water and fight with him." Ireton told him, "his conscience would not suffer him to fight a duel;" upon which Hollis, in choler, pulled him by the nose; telling him, "if his conscience would keep him from giving men satisfaction, it should keep him from provoking them." This affront to the third person of the army, and to a man of the most virulent, malicious, and revengeful nature of all the pack, so incensed the whole party, that they were resolved one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in the house, and that reputation abroad, that when he could not absolutely control their designs, he did so obstruct them, that they could not advance to any conclusion.

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[1] The worst spirit on this side h——. ---W.

They resorted therefore, to an expedient, which, they had observed, by the conduct of those very men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired;[1] and, in the council of officers, prepared an impeachment of high treason in general terms against Mr. Hollis, and the persons mentioned before, and others, to the number of eleven members of the house of commons. This impeachment twelve officers of the army, colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors, and captains, presented to the house; and within few days after, when they saw the same members still inveigh against and arraign their proceedings, the general and officers writ a letter to the house, "that they would appoint fit persons on their and the kingdom's behalf, to make good the charge against those members whom they had accused; and that they desired, that those members impeached might be forthwith suspended from sitting in the house; since it could not be thought fit that the same persons who had so much injured and provoked the army, should sit judges of their own actions." This was an arrow that the house of commons did not expect would have been shot out of that quiver; and though they were unspeakably dismayed, and distracted with this presumption, they answered positively, "that they neither would, nor could, sequester those members from the house, who had never said or done any thing in the house worthy of censure, till proof were made of such particulars as might render them guilty." But the officers of the army replied, "that they could prove them guilty of such practices in the house, that it would be just in the house to suspend them: that by the laws of the land, and the precedents of parliament, the lords had, upon the very presentation of a general accusation without being reduced into writing, sequestered from their house and committed the earl of Strafford, and the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord Finch, and therefore they must press, and insist upon the suspending at least of those accused members from being present in the house, where they stood impeached; and without this, they said, the army would not be satisfied." However the house of commons seemed still resolute, the accused members themselves, who best knew their temper, thought it safer for them to retire, and by forbearing to be present in the house, to allay the heat of the present contest.

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[1] An expedient, by the conduct of which, they had observed those very men (against whom they meant to apply it) had brought to pass all that they desired.---W.

Upon this so palpable declension of spirit in the house, the army seemed much quieter, and resolved to set other agents on their work, that they might not appear too busy and active in their own concernment. It is very true that the city, upon whose influence the parliament wholly depended, appeared now entirely presbyterian; the court of aldermen, and common council, consisted only of men of that spirit; the militia of the city was committed to commissioners carefully and factiously chosen of that party; all those of another temper having been put out of those trusts, at or about the time that the king was delivered up by the Scots, when the officers of the army were content that the presbyterians should believe, that the whole power of the kingdom was in them, and that they might settle what government they pleased; if there remained any persons in any of those employments in the city, it was by their dissimulation, and pretending to have other affections; all who were notorious to be of any other faction in religion, had been put out; and lived as neglected and discountenanced men; who seemed rather to depend upon the clemency and indulgence of the state, for their particular liberty in the exercise of that religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any share or part in the government: yet, after all this dissimulation, Cromwell and Ireton well knew, that the multitude of inferior people were at their disposal, and would appear in any conjuncture they should think convenient; and that many aldermen and substantial citizens were quiet, and appeared not to contradict or oppose the presbyterians, only by their direction; and would be ready upon their call. And now, when they saw those leading men, who had governed the parliament, prosecuted by the army, and that they forbore to come to the house, there flocked together great numbers of the lowest and most inferior people, to the parliament, with petitions of several natures, both with reference to religion and to the civil government; with the noise and clamour whereof the parliament was so offended and disturbed, that they made an ordinance, "that it should be treason to gather and solicit the subscriptions of hands to petitions." But this order so offended all parties, that they were compelled, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all men to their natural liberty. Whilst this confusion was in the city and parliament, the commissioners, which had been sent to the army to treat with the officers, had no better success; but returned with the positive and declared resolution of the army, "that a declaration should be published by the parliament against the coming in of foreign force:" for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the people should apprehend, a new combination by the Scots: "that the pay of the army should be put into a constant course, and all persons who had received money, should be called to an account: that the militia of London should be put into the hands of persons well affected, and those who had been formerly trusted: that all persons imprisoned for pretended misdemeanours, by order of parliament, or their committees, might be set at liberty; and, if upon trial they should be found innocent, that they might have good reparation." And they particularly mentioned John Lilburn, Overton, and other anabaptists and fanatics, who had been committed by the parliament for many seditious meetings, under pretence of exercise of their religion, and many insolent actions against the government. Upon the report of these demands, the parliament grew more enraged; and voted, "that the yielding to the army in these particulars would be against their honour, and their interest, and destructive to their privileges;" with many expressions against their presumption and insolence: yet, when a new rabble of petitioners demanded, with loud cries, most of the same things, they were willing to compound with them; and consented that the militia of the city of London should be put into such hands as the army should desire.

The militia of the city had been in the beginning of May, shortly after the king's being brought to Holmby, settled with the consent, and upon the desire, of the common council, by ordinance of parliament, in the hands of commissioners, who were all of the presbyterian party, they who were of other inclinations being removed; and, as is said before, seemed not displeased at their disgrace; and now, when upon the declarations and demands of the army, seconded by clamorous petitions, they saw this ordinance reversed, in the beginning of July, without so much as consulting with the common council according to custom, the city was exceedingly startled; and said, that if the imperious command of the army could prevail with the parliament to reverse such an ordinance as that of the militia, they had reason to apprehend they might as well repeal the other ordinances for the security of money, or for the purchase of bishops' and church lands, or whatsoever else that was the proper security of the subject." And therefore they caused a petition to be prepared in the name of the city, to be presented by the two sheriffs, and others deputed by the common council to that purpose. But, before they were ready, many thousands, apprentices and young citizens, brought petitions to the parliament; in which they said, "that the command of the militia of the city was the birthright of the city, and belonged to them by several charters which had been confirmed in parliament; for defence whereof, they said, they had ventured their lives as far and as frankly as the army had done; and therefore, they desired that the ordinance of parliament of the fourth of May, which had passed with their consent, might stand inviolable." They first presented their petition to the house of peers, who immediately revoked their late ordinance of July, and confirmed their former of May; and sent it down to the commons for their consent; who durst not deny their concurrence, the apprentices behaving themselves so insolently, that they would scarce suffer the door of the house of commons to be shut; and some of them went into the house.

And in this manner the ordinance was reversed that had been made at the desire of the army, and the other of May ratified and confirmed; which was no sooner done than the parliament adjourned till Friday, that they might have two or three days to consider how they should behave themselves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The army had quickly notice of these extraordinary proceedings, and the general writ a very sharp letter to the parliament from Bedford; in which he put them in mind, "how civilly the army had complied with their desire, by removing to a greater distance, upon presumption that their own authority would have been able to have secured them from any rudeness, and violence of the people; which it was now evident it could not do, by the unparalleled violation of all their privileges, on the Monday before, by a multitude from the city, which had been encouraged by several common council men, and other citizens in authority; which was an act so prodigious and horrid as must dissolve all government, if not severely and exemplarily chastised: that the army looked upon themselves as accountable to the kingdom, if this unheard of outrage, by which the peace and settlement of the nation, and the relief of Ireland, had been so notoriously interrupted, should not be strictly examined, and justice speedily done upon the offenders." Upon Friday, to which both houses had adjourned, the members came together, in as full numbers as they had used to meet, there being above one hundred and forty of the house of commons; but, after they had sat some time in expectation of their speaker, they were informed that he was gone out of the town early that morning; and they observed that sir Henry Vane, and some few other members who used to concur with him, were likewise absent. The house of peers found likewise that the earl of Manchester, their speaker, had withdrawn himself, together with the earl of Northumberland, and some other lords; but the major part still remained there, full of indignation against those who were absent, and who they all concluded were gone to the army. Hereupon both houses chose new speakers; who accepted the office; and the commons presently voted, "that the eleven members who stood impeached by the army, and had discontinued coming to the house, should presently appear, and take their places." They made an ordinance of parliament, by which a committee of safety was appointed to join with the city militia, and had authority to raise men for the defence of the parliament; which they appeared so vigorously resolved on, that no man in the houses, or in the city, seemed to intend any thing else. The news of this roused up the army, and the general presently sent a good party of horse into Windsor, and marched himself to Uxbridge, and appointed a general rendezvous for the whole army upon Hounslow heath, within two days; when and where there appeared twenty thousand foot and horse, with a train of artillery, and all other provisions proportionable to such an army.

As soon as the rendezvous was appointed at Hounslow heath, at the same time the king removed to Hampton Court; which was prepared, and put into as good order for his reception, as could have been done in the best time. The houses seemed for some time to retain their spirit and vigour, and the city talked of listing men, and defending themselves, and not suffering the army to approach nearer to them: but, when they knew the day of the rendezvous, those in both houses who had been too weak to carry any thing, and so had looked on whilst such votes were passed as they liked not and could not oppose, now when their friend the army was so near, recovered their spirits, and talked very loud; and persuaded the rest, "to think in time of making their peace with the army, that could not be withstood." And the city grew every day more appalled, irresolute, and confounded, one man proposing this, and another somewhat contrary to that, like men amazed and distracted. When the army met upon Hounslow heath at their rendezvous, the speakers of both houses, who had privately before met with the chief officers of the army, appeared there with their maces, and such other members as accompanied them; complaining to the general, "that they had not freedom at Westminster, but were in danger of their lives by the "tumults;" and appealed to the army for their protection.

This looked like a new act of Providence to vindicate the army from all reproaches, and to justify them in all they had done, as absolutely done for the preservation of the parliament and kingdom. If this had been a retreat of sir Harry Vane and some other discontented men, who were known to be independents, and fanatics in their opinions in religion, and of the army faction, who, being no longer able to oppose the wisdom of the parliament, had fled to their friends for protection from justice, they would have got no reputation, nor the army been thought the better of for their company: but neither of the speakers were ever looked upon as inclined to the army; Lenthall was generally believed to have no malice towards the king, and not to be without good inclinations to the church; and the earl of Manchester, who was speaker of the house of peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable against Cromwell; and had formerly accused him of want of duty to the parliament; and the other hated him above all men, and desired to have taken away his life. The earl of Manchester and the earl of Warwick were the two pillars of the presbyterian party; and that they two, with the earl of Northumberland, and some other of the lords, and some of the commons, who had appeared to disapprove all the proceedings of the army, should now join with sir Harry Vane, and appeal to the army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the city, appeared to every stander-by so stupendous a thing, that it is not to this day understood otherwise, than that they were resolved to have their particular shares in the treaty, which they believed the chief officers of the army to have near concluded with the king. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the army, nor had any kindness to, or confidence in, the officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, considering how much the city was devoted to them, it is probable that the army would not have used any force; which might have received a fatal repulse; but that some good compromise might have been made by the interposition of the king. But this schism carried all the reputation and authority to the army, and left none in the parliament; for though it presently appeared, that the number of those who left the houses was very small in comparison of those who remained behind, and who proceeded with the same vigour in declaring against the army, and the city seemed as resolute in putting themselves into a posture, and preparing for their defence, all their works and fortifications being still entire, so that they might have put the army to great trouble if they had steadily pursued their resolutions, (which they did not yet seem in any degree to decline,) yet this rent made all the accused members, who were the men of parts and reputation to conduct their counsels, to withdraw themselves upon the astonishment; some concealing themselves, till they had opportunity to make their peace, and others withdrawing and transporting themselves beyond the seas; whereof Stapleton died at Calais as soon as he landed, and was denied burial, upon imagination that he had died of the plague: others remained a long time beyond the seas; and, though they long after returned, never were received into any trust in those times, nor in truth concurred or acted in the public affairs, but retired to their own estates, and lived very privately.

The chief officers of the army received the two speakers, and the members who accompanied them, as so many angels sent from heaven for their good; paid them all the respect imaginable, and professed all submission to them, as to the parliament of England; and declared, "that they would re-establish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt;" took very particular care for their accommodations, before the general; and assigned a guard to wait upon them for their security; acquainted them with all their consultations; and would not presume to resolve any thing without their approbation; and they had too much modesty to think they could do amiss,[1] who had prospered so much in all their undertakings. No time was lost in pursuing their resolution to establish the parliament again at Westminster; and finding that the rest of the members continued still to sit there with the same formality, and that the city did not abate any of their spirit, they seemed to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better understanding between them, upon the messages they every day sent to the lord mayor, and aldermen, and common council, (for of those at Westminster they took no notice,) and quartered their army about Brentford, and Hounslow, Twickenham, and the adjacent villages, without restraining any provisions, which every day according to custom were carried to London, or doing the least action that might disoblige or displease the city; the army being in truth under so excellent discipline, that nobody could complain of any damage sustained by them, or any provocation by word or deed.[1] However, in this calm, they sent over colonel Rainsborough with a brigade of horse and foot, and cannon, at Hampton Court, to possess Southwark, and those works which secured that end of London-bridge; which he did with so little noise, that in one night's march he found himself master without any opposition, not only of the borough of Southwark, but of all the works and forts which were to defend it; the soldiers within shaking hands with those without, and refusing to obey their officers which were to command them: so that the city, without knowing that any such thing was in agitation, found in the morning that all that avenue to the town was possessed by the enemy; whom they were providing to resist on the other side, being as confident of this that they had lost, as of any gate of the city.

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[1] The speakers.—W.

This struck them dead; and put an end to all their consultation for defence; and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify those whom they had so much offended and provoked; and how they might preserve their city from plunder, and the fury of an enraged army. They who had ever been of the army party, and of late had shut themselves up, and not dared to walk the streets for fear of the people, came now confidently amongst them, and mingled in their councils; declared, "that the king and the army were now agreed in all particulars, and that both houses were now with the army, and had presented themselves to the king; so that to oppose the army would be to oppose the king and parliament, and to incense them as much as the army." Upon such confident discourses and insinuations from those with whom they would not have conversed, or given the least credit to, three days before, or rather upon the confusion and general distraction they were in, they sent six aldermen and six commoners to the general; who lamented and complained, "that the city should be suspected, that had never acted any thing against the parliament; and therefore, they desired him to forbear doing any thing that might be the occasion of a new war." But the general little considered this message, and gave less countenance to the messengers; but continued his slow marches towards the city: whereupon they sent an humble message to him, "that since they understood that the reason of his march so near London was to restore and settle the members (the lords and commons) of parliament to the liberty and privilege of sitting securely in their several houses, (to which the city would contribute all their power and service,) they prayed him, with all submission, that he would be pleased to send such a guard of horse and foot as he thought to be sufficient for that purpose; and that the ports and all passages should be open to them; and they should do any thing else that his excellency would command." To which he made no other answer but "that he would have all the forts of the west side of the city to be delivered immediately to him;" those of the other side being already, as is said, in the hands of Rainsborough and his other officers. The common council, that sat day and night, upon the receipt of this message, without any pause returned "that they would humbly submit to his command; and that now, under Almighty God, they did rely only upon his excellency's honourable word for their protection and security." And so they caused their militia to be forthwith drawn off from the line, as well as out of the forts, with all their cannon and ordnance; and the general appointed a better guard to both. At Hyde Park the mayor and aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated his arrival; and besought him "to excuse what they had, out of their good meaning and desire of peace, done amiss;" and as a testimony of their affection and duty, the mayor, on the behalf of the city, presented a great gold cup to the general; which he sullenly refused to receive, and, with very little ceremony, dismissed them.

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[1] Such an army must needs subdue both friends and enemies.—W.

He himself waited upon the two speakers, and conducted them, and their members, to the several houses, where the other members were then sitting: even in the instant when the revolters, as they had called them, entered into the houses, the old speakers assumed their places again, and entered upon their business, as if there had been no separation. The first thing they did, was calling in the general into both houses, and making him a large acknowledgment in the name of each house, of the great favours he had done to them: they thanked him "for the protection he had given to their persons, and his vindication of the privileges of parliament." Then they voted "all that had been done by themselves in going to the army, and in residing there, and all that had been done by the army, to be well and lawfully done;" and "that all that had been done in the houses since their departure, was against law, and privilege of parliament, invalid and void:" then they adjourned to the next day, without questioning or punishing any member who had acted there.

The army of horse, foot, and cannon, marched the next day through the city, (which, upon the desire of the parliament, undertook forthwith to supply an hundred thousand pounds for the payment of the army,) without the least disorder, or doing the least damage to any person, or giving any disrespective word to any man: by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent discipline, and that both officers and soldiers were men of extraordinary temper and sobriety. So they marched over London-bridge into Southwark, and to those quarters to which they were assigned; some regiments were quartered in Westminster, the Strand, and Holborn, under pretence of being a guard to the parliament, but intended as a guard upon the city. The general's head-quarters were at Chelsea, and the rest of the army quartered between Hampton Court and London, that the king might be well looked to; and the council of officers, and agitators, sat constantly and formally at Fulham and Chelsea, to provide that no other settlement should be made for the government of the kingdom than what they should well approve.

Whilst these things were thus agitated between the army and the parliament and the city, the king enjoyed himself at

Hampton Court, much to his content; the respects of the chief officers of the army seeming much greater than they had been; Cromwell himself came oftener to him, and had longer conferences with him; talked with more openness to Mr. Ashburnham than he had done, and appeared more cheerful. Persons of all conditions repaired to his majesty of those who had served him; lords and ladies, with whom he conferred without reservation; and the citizens flocked thither as they had used to do at the end of a progress, when the king had been some months absent from London: but that which pleased his majesty most, was, that his children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. His eldest daughter was married, and had been some time in Holland; the prince was in France, but all the rest of his children were in the power of the parliament, except only the youngest, the princess Henrietta, whom he had never seen, she being born at Exeter very little before the queen's transportation into France; and after the surrender of Exeter, having been by her governess the countess of Morton stolen away, and with great success carried into France to the queen, whilst the king was at Newcastle, according to the command she had received. When the king left Oxford, to make an escape from the army, and to put himself into the hands of the Scots, he could not but leave the duke of York behind him, whom he had before thought to have sent into Ireland, when he believed his affairs there to be in a better condition than he then understood them to be; and so he remained in Oxford when that place was surrendered. His highness was received by the committee of the parliament, to whom then the army paid all obedience; nor would it be admitted into the treaty that his highness should have liberty to go to such place as the king should appoint. There were at the same time the duke of Gloucester, and two princesses, who had been all under the care of the countess of Dorset, the governess appointed by the king; but she being lately dead, and one of the princesses likewise departed this life, when the duke of York was brought up to London, he and the other two were all committed by the parliament to the care and government of the earl of Northumberland, who treated them in all respects as was agreeable to their quality and his duty. They were all three at the earl of Northumberland's house, at Sion, from the time the king came to Hampton Court, and had liberty to attend his majesty when he pleased; so that sometimes he sent for them to come to Hampton Court, and sometimes he went to them to Sion; which gave him great divertisement.

In this conversation, as if his majesty had foreseen all that befell him afterwards, and which at that time sure he did not suspect, he took great care to instruct his children how to behave themselves, if the worst should befall him that the worst of his enemies did contrive or wish; and "that they should preserve unshaken their affection and duty to the prince their brother." The duke of York was then about fifteen years of age; and so, capable of any information or instruction the king thought fit to give him. His majesty told him, "that he looked upon himself as in the hands and disposal of the army, and that the parliament had no more power to do him good or harm, than as the army should direct or permit; and that he knew not, in all this time he had been with them, what he might promise himself from those officers of the army at whose devotion it was: that he hoped well, yet with much doubt and fear; and therefore he gave him this general direction and command, that if there appeared any such alteration in the affection of the army, that they restrained him from the liberty he then enjoyed of seeing his children, or suffered not his friends to resort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed at present, he might conclude they would shortly use him worse, and that he should not be long out of a prison; and therefore that from the time he discovered such an alteration, he should bethink himself how he might make an escape out of their power, and transport himself beyond the seas." The place he recommended to him was Holland; where he presumed his sister would receive him very kindly, and that the prince of Orange her husband would be well pleased with it, though, possibly, the States might restrain him from making those expressions of his affection his own inclination prompted him to. He wished him to think always of this, as a thing possible to fall out, and so spake frequently to him of it, and of the circumstances and cautions which were necessary to attend it.

The princess Elizabeth was not above a year or two younger than the duke, a lady of excellent parts, great observation, and an early understanding; which the king discerned, by the account she gave him both of things and persons, upon the experience she had had of both. His majesty enjoined her, "upon the worst that could befall him, never to be disposed of in marriage without the consent and approbation of the queen her mother, and the prince her brother; and always to perform all duty and obedience to both those; and to obey the queen in all things, except in matter of religion; to which he commanded her, upon his blessing, never to hearken or consent; but to continue firm in the religion she had been instructed and educated in, what discountenance and ruin soever might befall the poor church, at that time under so severe prosecution."

The duke of Gloucester was very young, being at that time not above seven years old, and so might well be thought incapable of retaining that advice, and injunction, which in truth ever after made so deep impression in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of religion, and commanded him positively, "never to be persuaded or threatened out of the religion of the church, in which he hoped he would be well instructed, and for the purity and integrity whereof he bid him remember that he had his father's testimony and authority;" his majesty told him, "that his infancy, and the tenderness of his years, might persuade some men to hope and believe, that he might be made an instrument, and property, to advance their wicked designs; and if they should take away his life, they might, possibly, the better to attain their own ends, make him king; that under him, whilst his age would not permit him to judge, and act for himself, they might remove many obstructions which lay in their way; and form and unite their councils; and then they would destroy him too. But he commanded him, upon his blessing, never to forget what he said to him upon this occasion, nor to accept, or suffer himself to be made king, whilst either of his elder brothers lived, in what part of the world soever they should be: that he should remember that the prince his brother was to succeed him by the laws of God and man; and, if he should miscarry, that the duke of York was to succeed in the same right; and therefore that he should be sure never to be made use of to interrupt or disturb either of their rights; which would in the end turn to his own destruction." And this discourse the king reiterated to him, as often as he had liberty to see him, with all the earnestness and passion he could express; which was so fixed in his memory that he never forgot it. And many years after, when he was sent out of England, he made the full relation of all the particulars to me, with that commotion of spirit, that it appeared to be deeply rooted in him; and made use of one part of it very seasonably afterwards, when there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have perverted him in his religion, and to persuade him to become Roman catholic for the advancement of his fortune.

In this manner, and with these kind of reflections, the king made use of the liberty he enjoyed; and considered as well, what remedies to apply to the worst that could fall out, as to caress the officers of the army in order to the improvement of his condition, of which he was not yet in any despair; the chief officers, and all the heads of that party, looking upon it as their wisest policy to cherish the king's hopes by the liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing courtesy towards all who had been of his party; whose expectation, and good word, and testimony, they found did them much good both in the city and the country.

At this time the lord Capel, whom we left in Jersey, hearing of the difference between the parliament and the army, left his two friends there; and made a journey to Paris to the prince, that he might receive his highness's approbation of his going for England; which he very willingly gave; well knowing that he would improve all opportunities, with great diligence, for the king his father's service: and then that lord transported himself into Zealand, his friends having advised him to be in those parts before they endeavoured to procure a pass for him; which they easily did, as soon as he came thither; and so he had liberty to remain at his own house in the country, where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated no where. And in this general and illimited indulgence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the king at Hampton Court ; and gave him a particular account of all that passed at Jersey, before the prince's remove from thence, and of the reasons which induced those of the council to remain still there, and of many other particulars, of which his majesty had never before been informed, and which put it out of any body's power to do the chancellor of the exchequer any ill offices: and from thence the king writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind letter to the chancellor at Jersey ; full of hope "that he should conclude such a treaty with the army and parliament, that he should shortly draw him, and some other of his friends, to him." He thanked him "for undertaking the work he was upon; and told him, he should expect speedily to receive some contribution from him towards it ;" and, within a very short time afterwards, he sent to him his own memorials (or those which by his command had been kept, and were perused, and corrected by himself) of all that had passed from the time he had left his majesty at Oxford, when he waited upon the prince into the west, to the very day that the king left Oxford to go to the Scots ; out of which memorials,[1] as hath been said before, the most important passages in the years 1644 and 1645 are faithfully collected. To the lord Capel his majesty imparted all his hopes and all his fears ; and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him ; and "that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations ; in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England ; and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other :" and therefore desired Capel "to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends together ;" which he promised to do effectually ; and did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loss of his own life. Then the king enjoined him "to write to the chancellor of the exchequer, that whenever the queen, or prince, should require him to come to them, he should not fail to yield obedience to their command;" and himself writ to the queen, "that whenever the season should be ripe for the prince to engage himself in any action, she should not fail to send for the chancellor of the exchequer to wait upon him in it." And many things were then adjusted, upon the foresight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

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[1] The chief of which was sir Edward Walker's, of the campaigns of 1644-5, since published.—W.

The marquis of Ormond had, by special command and order from the king whilst he was with the Scots at Newcastle, delivered up the city of Dublin to the parliament, after the Irish had so infamously broken the peace they had made with the king, and brought their whole army before Dublin to besiege it; by which he was reduced to those straits, that he had no other election than to deliver it to the Irish, or to the parliament; of which his majesty being informed, determined, he should give it to the parliament; which he did, with full conditions for all those who had served his majesty; and so transported himself into England, and, from London, presented himself to the king at Hampton Court; who received him with extraordinary grace, as a person who had served him with great zeal and fidelity, and with the most universal testimony of all good men that any man could receive. He used less application to the parliament and army than other men, relying upon the articles the parliament had signed to him; by which he had liberty to stay so many months in England, and at the end thereof to transport himself into the parts beyond the seas, if in the mean time he made no composition with the parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous eyes upon him, he repaired frequently to present his duty to the king; who was exceedingly pleased to confer with him, and to find that he was resolved to undertake any enterprise that might advance his service; which the king himself, and most other men who wished well to it, did at that time believe to be in no desperate condition. And no men were fuller of professions of duty, and a resolution to run all hazards, than the Scottish commissioners; who, from the time they had delivered up the king, resided at London with their usual confidence, and loudly complained of the presumption of the army in seizing upon the person of the king, insinuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant, and inseparable from the interest of the crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole nation would be united, to a man, in any enterprise for his service. And now, from the time his majesty came to Hampton Court, they came to him with as much presumption as if they had carried him to Edinburgh; which was the more notorious, and was thought to signify the more, because their persons were known to be most odious to all the great officers in the army, and to those who now governed in the parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement was laid,[1] which was endeavoured to be performed the next year ensuing, and which the Scots themselves then communicated to the marquis of Ormond, the lord Capel, and other trusty persons; as if there was nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all his majesty's rights and interest.

When the army had thus subdued all opposition, and the parliament and they seemed all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the city seemed to be suppressed, and totally tamed, the army seemed less regardful of the king than they had been; the chief officers came rarely to Hampton Court, nor had they the same countenances towards Ashburnham and Berkley, as they used to have; they were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, asked captious questions, and gave answers themselves of no signification. The agitators, and council of officers, sent some propositions to the king, as ruinous to the church and destructive to the regal power, as had been yet made by the parliament; and, in some respects, much worse, and more dishonourable; and said, "if his majesty would consent thereunto, they would apply themselves to the parliament, and do the best they could to persuade them to be of the same opinion." But his majesty rejected them with more than usual indignation, not without some reproaches upon the officers, for having deluded him, and having prevailed in all their own designs, by making the world believe that they intended his majesty's restoration and settlement, upon better conditions than the parliament was willing to admit. By this manner of resentment, the army took itself to be disobliged, and used another language in their discourse of the king than they had, for some months, used to do; and such officers who had formerly served the king, and had been civilly treated and sheltered in the quarters of the army, were now driven from thence. And they who had been kind to them, withdrew themselves from their acquaintance; and the sequestrations of all the estates of the cavaliers, which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practised, and the declared delinquents racked to as high compositions; which if they refused to make, their whole estates were taken from them, and their persons exposed to affronts, and insecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the presbyterian humour in the parliament against the judgment of the army: and it is very true, that though the parliament was so far subdued, that it no more found fault with what the army did, nor complained that it meddled in determining what settlement should be made in the government; yet, in all their own acts and proceedings, they prosecuted a presbyterian settlement as earnestly as they could. The covenant was pressed in all places, and the anabaptists and other sects, which begun to abound, were punished, restrained, and discountenanced; which the army liked not, as a violation of the liberty of tender consciences; which, they pretended, was as much the original of the quarrel, as any other grievance whatsoever.[1]

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[1] If those who at this time governed the army had any real intention of restoring the king, they certainly were diverted from the duplicity they discovered in the king's character, manifested in this negociation with the Scotch commissioners.—W.

They had made a visitation of the university of Oxford; in which the earl of Pembroke had been contented to be employed as chancellor of the university, who had taken an oath to defend the rights and privileges of the university: notwithstanding which, out of the extreme weakness of his understanding, and the miserable compliance of his nature, he suffered himself to be made a property in joining with Brent,[2] Pryn, and two or three other presbyterian ministers, as commissioners for the parliament to reform the discipline and erroneous doctrine of that famous university, by the rule of the covenant; which was the standard of all men's learning, and ability to govern; all persons of what quality soever being required to subscribe that test; which the whole body of the university was so far from submitting to, that they met in their convocation, and, to their eternal renown, (being at the same time under a strict and strong garrison, put over them by the parliament; the king in prison; and all their hopes desperate,) passed a public act, and declaration against the covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the assembly of the divines, (which then sat at Westminster, forming a new catechism, and scheme of religion,) ever ventured to make any answer to it; nor is it indeed to be answered, but must remain to the world's end, as a monument of the learning, courage, and loyalty, of that excellent place, against the highest malice and tyranny that was ever exercised in or over any nation; and which those famous commissioners only answered by expelling all those who refused to submit to their jurisdiction, or to take the covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole university; scarce one governor and master of college or hall, and an incredible small number of the fellows, or scholars, submitting to either: whereupon that desolation being made, they placed in their rooms the most notorious factious presbyterians, in the government of the several colleges or halls; and such other of the same leaven in the fellowships, and scholars' places, of those whom they had expelled, without any regard to the statutes of the several founders, and the incapacities that were declared by those. The omnipotence of an ordinance of parliament confirmed all that was this way done; and there was no further contending against it.

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[1] And, in fact, was.---W.

[2] Sir Nathaniel Brent, translator of father Paul's History of the Council of Trent.---W.

It might reasonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation would even extirpate all that learning, religion, and loyalty, which had so eminently flourished there; and that the succeeding ill husbandry, and unskilful cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in ignorance, profanation, atheism, and rebellion; but, by God's wonderful blessing, the goodness and richness of that soil could not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence. It choked the weeds, and would not suffer the poisonous seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring up; but after several tyrannical governments, mutually succeeding each other, and with the same malice and perverseness endeavouring to extinguish all good literature and allegiance, it yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly introduced[1] applied themselves to the study of good learning, and the practice of virtue, and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring the king back to his throne, he found that university (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusions which had been industriously poured into it) abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience, little inferior to what it was before its desolation; which was a lively instance of God's mercy, and purpose, for ever so to provide for his church, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it; which were never opened wider, nor with more malice, than in that time.

These kinds of proceedings in all places, blasted all the king's hopes, and deprived him of all the rest and quiet he had for some time enjoyed; nor could he devise any remedy. He was weary of depending upon the army, but neither knew how to get from them, nor whither else to resort for help. The officers of those guards which were assigned to attend his person, and who had behaved themselves with good manners, and duty towards him, and very civilly towards those of his party who had used to wait upon his majesty, begun now to murmur at so great resort to him, and to use many, who came, rudely; and not to suffer them to go into the room where the king was; or, which was worse, put them out when they were there; and when his majesty seemed to take notice and be troubled at it, they appeared not to be concerned, nor answered him with that duty they had used to do. They affronted the Scottish commissioners[1] very notably, and would not suffer them to speak with the king; which caused an expostulation from the parliament; which removed the obstruction for the future, but procured no satisfaction for the injury they had received, nor made the same officers more civil towards their persons. Ashburnham and Berkley received many advertisements from some officers with whom they had most conversed, and who would have been glad that the king might have been restored by the army for the preferments which they expected might fall to their share, "that Cromwell and Ireton resolved never to trust the king,[2] or to do any thing towards his restoration;" and they two steered the whole body; and therefore they advised, "that some way might be found to remove his majesty out of their hands." Major Huntington, one of the best officers they had, and major to Cromwell's own regiment of horse, upon whom he relied in any enterprise of importance more than upon any man, had been employed by him to the king, to say those things from him which had given the king the most confidence, and was much more than he had ever said to Ashburnham; and the major did really believe that he had meant all he said, and the king had a good opinion of the integrity of the major, upon the testimony he had received from some he knew had no mind to deceive his majesty; and the man merited the testimony they gave him.

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[1] Such as Wilkins.---W.

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[1] Their affronting the Scottish commissioners, (without doubt by the direction of their superiors,) looked as if those superiors had been earnest in their treaty with the king, and had a mind not to be interrupted in their bargain.---W.

[2] The king, by all the accounts of that time, even by some of those wrote by his own servants, acted a double and disingenuous part with those who governed the army. So that Cromwell's complaint below seems not to have been without foundation. On the other hand, the king's situation, and his opinion of those with whom he had to deal being divided into three parties, who had all different interests, it was a great temptation to him (in order to make sure of one) to negociate with all, as he had confidence in none, and to say the truth, he had little reason. Otherwise, had they given him cause to think well of their sincerity, this treating with them all at the same time, had justified their complaint, and breaking with him.---W.

He, when he observed Cromwell to grow colder in his expressions for the king than he had formerly been, expostulated with him in very sharp terms, for "abusing him, and making him the instrument to cozen the king;" and, though the other endeavoured to persuade him that all should be well, he informed his majesty of all he had observed; and told him, "that Cromwell was a villain, and would destroy him if he were not prevented;" and, in a short time after, he gave up his commission, and would serve no longer in the army. Cromwell himself expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complained[1] "that the king could not be trusted; and that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers: that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the presbyterians of the city, to raise new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the Scottish commissioners to engage the nation again in blood; and therefore he would not be answerable if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation;" and that was the reason, besides the old animosity, that had drawn on the affront, which the commissioners had complained of. What that treaty was, and what it produced, will be mentioned in a more proper time.

There was at this time a new faction grown up in the army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own consent, called *levellers;* who spoke insolently and confidently against the king and parliament, and the great officers of the army; and professed as great malice against all the lords, as against the king; and declared, "that all degrees of men should be levelled, and an equality should be established, both in titles and estates, throughout the kingdoms." Whether the raising this spirit was a piece of Cromwell's ordinary witchcraft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew amongst those tares which had been sowed in that confusion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at last, (which must be set down hereafter;) but the present use he made of it was, that, upon the licentious discourse of that kind, which some soldiers upon the guard usually made, the guard upon the king's person was doubled; a restraint put upon the great resort of people who came to see the king; and all pretended to be for his security, and to prevent any violence that might be attempted upon his life; which they seemed to apprehend, and detest. In the mean time, they neither hindered his majesty from riding abroad to take the air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor restrained those who waited upon him in his bedchamber, nor his chaplains from performing their functions; though towards all these there was less civility exercised than had been; and the guards which waited nearest were more rude, and made more noise at unseasonable hours than they had been accustomed to do; the captain who commanded them, colonel Whaley, being a man of a rough and brutal temper, who had offered great violence to his nature, when he appeared to exercise any civility and good manners. The king, every day, received little billets or letters, secretly conveyed to him without any name, which advertised him of wicked designs upon his life, and some of them advised him to make an escape, and repair secretly into the city, where he should be safe; some letters directing him to such an alderman's house; all which his majesty looked upon as artifice to lead him into some straits, from whence he should not easily explicate himself; and yet many who repaired to him brought the same advice from men of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason soever they were swayed.

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[1] All this seems to justify Cromwell in point of honour, and is very consistent with all he said to Huntingdon.---W.

The king found himself in great perplexity, from what he discerned, and observed himself, as well as what he heard from others; but what use to make of the one or the other, was very hard to resolve: he did really believe that their malice was at the height, and that they did design his murder, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an escape, if it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated, by pretended ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their guards, and get beyond them undiscovered, whither should he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the city seemed not to him to have a foundation of reason; they had been too late subdued to recover courage for such an adventure; and the army now was much more master of it than when they desponded. There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the seas,[1] which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass; but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day discovered; they who were instrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the resolution, or counsel. But, one morning, about the beginning of September, the king having, the night before, pretended some indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, they who went into his chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his bed that night. There were two or three letters found upon his table, writ all with his own hand, one to the parliament, another to the general; in which he declared "the reason of his remove to be, an apprehension that some desperate persons had a design to assassinate him; and therefore he had withdrawn himself with a purpose of remaining concealed, until the parliament had agreed upon such propositions as should be fit for him to consent to; and he would then appear, and willingly consent to any thing that should be for the peace and happiness of the kingdom." There were discovered the treading of horses at a back door of the garden into which his majesty had a passage out of his chamber; and it is true that way he went, having appointed his horse to be there ready at an hour, and sir John Berkley, Ashburnham, and Legg, to wait upon him, the two last being of his bedchamber. Ashburnham alone seemed to know what they were to do, the other two having received only orders to attend. When they were free from the apprehension of the guards, and the horse quarters, they rode towards the west, and towards that part of Hampshire which led to the New Forest. The king asked Ashburnham, where the ship lay? which made the other two conclude that the king resolved to transport himself. After they had made some stay in that part next the sea, and Ashburnham had been some time absent, he returned without any news of the ship; with which the king seemed troubled. Upon this disappointment, the king thought it best, for avoiding all highways, to go to Titchfield, a noble seat of the earl of Southampton's, (who was not there,) but inhabited by the old lady his mother with a small family, which made the retreat the more convenient: there his majesty alighted, and would speak with the lady; to whom he made no scruple of communicating himself, well knowing her to be a lady of that honour and spirit, that she was superior to all kind of temptation. There he refreshed himself, and consulted with his three servants, what he should next do, since there was neither ship ready, nor could they presume that they could remain long there undiscovered.

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[1] This indeed looks as if he had been betrayed by his servants; otherwise, why should he, who was consulted with about his *transporting* himself, deny the knowledge of the design? But they who deceived him did not intend it should be to him harm, but probably were first deceived themselves.---W.

In this debate, the Isle of Wight came to be mentioned (as they say) by Ashburnham, as a place where his majesty might securely repose himself, until he thought fit to inform the parliament where he was. Colonel Hammond was governor there, an officer of the army, and of nearest trust with Cromwell, having by his advice been married to a daughter of John Hambden, whose memory he always adored; yet, by some fatal mistake, this man was thought a person of honour and generosity enough to trust the king's person to, and Ashburnham and Berkley were sent to him with orders, "first to be sure that the man would faithfully promise not to deliver his majesty up, though the parliament or army should require him; but to give him his liberty to shift for himself, if he were not able to defend him: and except he would make that promise, they should not let him know where his majesty was, but should return presently to him." With this commission they two crossed the water to the Isle of Wight, the king in the mean time reposing himself at Titchfield. The next day they found colonel Hammond, who was known to them both, who had conversation with him in the army, when the king was well treated there, (and their persons had been very civilly treated by most of the officers, who thought themselves qualified sufficiently for court preferments.) They told him, "that the king was withdrawn from the army;" of which he seemed to have had no notice, and to be very much surprised with it. They then said, "that the king had so good an opinion of him, knowing him to be a gentleman, and for his relation to Dr. Hammond, (whose nephew he was,) that he would trust his person with him, and would from thence write to the parliament, if he would promise that if his message had not that effect which he hoped it would have, he would leave him to himself to go whither he thought fit, and would not deliver him to the parliament, or army, if they should require it." His answer was, "that he would pay all the duty and service to his majesty that was in his power; and, if he pleased to come thither, he would receive and entertain him as well as he could; but that he was an inferior officer, and must obey his superiors in whatsoever they thought fit to command him:" with which when he saw they were not satisfied, he asked, "where the king was?" to which they made no other answer, "but that they would acquaint his majesty with his answer, and, if he were satisfied with it, they would return to him again." He demanded "that Mr. Ashburnham would stay with him, and that the other might go to the king;" which Mr. Ashburnham refused to do.

After some time spent in debate, in which he made many expressions of his desire to do any service to his majesty, they were contented that he should go with them; and Ashburnham said, "he would conduct him to the place where the king was;" and so, he commanding three or four servants or soldiers to wait on him, they went together to Titchfield; and, the other staying below, Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. When he had acquainted him with all that had passed, and that Hammond was in the house, his majesty broke out in a passionate exclamation, and said, "O Jack, thou hast undone me!" with which the other falling into a great passion of weeping, offered to go down, and to kill Hammond: to which his majesty would not consent; and, after some pausing and deliberation, sent for him up, and endeavoured to persuade him to make the same promise, which had before been proposed: to which he made the same answer he had done, but with many professions of doing all the offices he could for his majesty; and seemed to believe that the army would do well for him. The king believed that there was now no possible way to get from him, he having the command of the country, and could call in what help he would; and so went with him into the Isle of Wight, and was lodged at Carisbrook-castle, with all demonstration of respect and duty.

It never appeared afterwards that the king was maliciously betrayed to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of those he trusted; and his majesty himself never entertained the least jealousy, or suspicion of it: yet the whole design appeared to be so weakly contrived, the not being sure of a ship, if the resolution were fixed for embarking, which was never manifest, the making choice of the Isle of Wight, and of Hammond to be trusted, since nothing fell out which was not to be reasonably foreseen and expected, and the bringing him to Titchfield, without the permission of the king, if not directly contrary to it, seemed to be all so far from a rational design and conduct, that most men did believe there was treason in the contrivance, or that his majesty intrusted those who were grossly imposed upon and deceived by his greatest enemies. Legg had had so general a reputation of integrity, and fidelity to his master, that he never fell under the least imputation or reproach with any man: he was a very punctual and steady observer of the orders he received, but no contriver of them; and though he had in truth a better judgment and understanding than either of the other two, his modesty and diffidence of himself never suffered him to contrive bold counsels. Berkley was less known among those persons of honour and quality who had followed the king, being in a very private station before the war, and his post in it being in the furthest corner of the kingdom, and not much spoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; his ambition and vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himself, and did not delight to converse with those who had not; but he never fell under any blemish of disloyalty, and he took care to publish that this enterprise of the king's was so totally without his privity, that he was required to attend on horseback at such an hour, and had not the least intimation of his majesty's purpose what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by Hammond, did him much credit, that when Hammond demanded that Ashburnham should remain with him whilst the other went to the king, which Ashburnham refused to do, Berkley did offer himself to remain with him whilst Ashburnham should attend his majesty; so that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was cast upon Ashburnham; who was known to have so great an interest in the affections of his master, and so great an influence upon his counsels and resolutions, that he could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

The not having a ship ready, if it were intended, was unexcusable; and the putting the king into Hammond's hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. There were some who said, that Ashburnham resolved that the king should go to the Isle of Wight, before he left Hampton Court; and the lord Langdale often said, "that being in Mr. Ashburnham's chamber at that time, he had the curiosity, whilst the other went out of the room, to look upon a paper that lay upon the table; in which was writ, that it would be best for the king to withdraw from the army, where he was in such danger; and that the Isle of Wight would be a good retreat, where colonel Hammond commanded; who was a very honest man." And this was some days before his majesty removed. And then it was observed, that Hammond himself left the army but two or three days before the king's remove, and went to the Isle of Wight at a season when there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when the agitators in the army were at highest; and it was looked upon with the more wonder, because Ashburnham was not afterwards called in question for being instrumental in the king's going away, but lived unquestioned long after in the sight of the parliament, and in conversation with some of the officers of the army who had most deceived him; and, which was more censured than all the rest, that after the murder of the king he compounded, as was reported, at an easy rate, and lived at ease, and grew rich, for many years together without interruption.

On the other hand, he preserved his reputation and credit with the most eminent of the king's party; and his remaining in England was upon the marriage of a lady by whom he had a great fortune, and many conveniences; which would have been seized by his leaving the kingdom; and he did send over to the king, and had leave to stay there; and sometimes supplied the king with considerable sums of money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by Cromwell, where he remained till his death; and the king was known to have had, to the last, a clear opinion of his affection and integrity; and when the king returned, most of those of greatest reputation, as the marquis of Hertford, and the earl of Southampton, gave him a good testimony; yet after his majesty's return, the old discourses were revived, and major Huntington did affirm, "that Mr. Ashburnham did intend the king should go to the Isle of Wight, before he left Hampton Court." And many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did still think that Cromwell and Ireton had overwitted him, and persuaded him, upon great promises, that it should prove for his majesty's benefit, and that they should the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the army, and put himself into Hammond's hands; for if in truth transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a ship would not have been provided.

Sir John Berkley, who, shortly after the king's being in the Isle of Wight, had transported himself into France, and remained still with the duke of York to the time of his majesty's return, and Mr. Ashburnham, who continued in England, and so the more liable to reproach, had been so solicitous to wipe off the aspersions which were cast upon them jointly, that they had no care to preserve the reputation of a joint innocence; but whilst each endeavoured to clear himself, he objected or imputed somewhat to the other, that made him liable to just censure; and, in this contention, their friends mentioned their several discourses so loudly, and so passionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they loved best, that they contracted a very avowed animosity against each other; insomuch as it was generally believed upon the king's return, that they would, with some fierceness, have expostulated with each other in that way which angry men choose to determine the right, or that both of them would have desired the king to have caused the whole to be so strictly examined, that the world might have discerned, where the faults and oversights had been, if no worse could have been charged upon them: but they applied themselves to neither of those expedients, and lived only as men who took no delight in each other's conversation, and who did not desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the king, who was satisfied that there had been no treasonable contrivance, (from which his father had absolved them,) did not think it fit, upon such a subject, to make strict inquisition into inadvertencies, indiscretions, and presumptions, which could not have been punished proportionally.

It is true that they both writ apologies,[1] or narrations of all that had passed in that affair, which they made not public, but gave in writing to such of their friends in whose opinions they most desired to be absolved, without any inclination that one should see what the other had writ; in which, though there were several reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of less moment, there was nothing in either that seemed to doubt of the integrity of the other; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the king to undertake that journey. I have read both their relations, and conferred with both of them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I should declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their loyalty or affection to the king, or suborned to gratify any persons with a disservice to their master. They were both of them great opiniators, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they had not thought of before; and exceedingly undervalued each other's understanding; but, as it usually falls out in men of that kind of composition and talent, they were both disposed to communicate more freely with, and, consequently, to be advised by new acquaintance, and men they had lately begun to know, than old friends, and such whose judgments they could not but esteem; who they had no mind should go sharers with them in the merit of any notable service which they thought themselves able to bring to pass. Then, in the whole managery of the king's business, from the time that they came into the army, they never conversed with the same persons; but governed themselves by what they received from those whose correspondence they had chosen. Ashburnham seemed wholly to depend upon Cromwell and Ireton; and rather upon what they said to others than to himself. For besides outward civilities which they both exercised towards him more than to other men, they seldom held private discourse with him, persuading him "that it was better for both their ends, in respect of the jealousy the parliament had of them, that they should understand each other's mind, as to the transaction of any particulars, from third persons mutually entrusted between them, than from frequent consultations together;" and so sir Edward Ford, who had married Ireton's sister, but had been himself an officer in the king's army from the beginning of the war, and a gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reserved and dark designs of his brother in law, was trusted to pass between them, with some other officers of the army, who had given Ashburnham some reason to believe that they had honest purposes.

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[1] These have been published since. Ashburnham's narrative is very poorly written. It is wholly employed in vindicating his own integrity from the charge of betraying his master to Cromwell and Ireton on corrupt motives, without any account of the particulars of the transaction. Berkley's narrative is much better written, and more curious, as giving a detailed account of the whole affair.—W.

Berkley had not found that respect, from Cromwell and Ireton, that he expected; at least discerned it to be greater towards Ashburnham, than it was to him; which he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgment in them; and therefore had applied himself to others, who had not so great names, but greater interest, as he thought, in the soldiers. His chief confidence was in Dr. Staines, who, though a doctor in physic, was quarter master general of the army; and one Watson, who was scout master general of the army; both of the council of war, both in good credit with Cromwell, and both notable fanatics, and professed enemies to the Scots and the presbyterians, and, no doubt, were both permitted and instructed to caress sir John Berkley, and, by admiring his wisdom and conduct, to oblige him to depend on theirs; and dissimulation had so great and supreme an influence on the hearts and spirits of all those who were trusted and employed by Cromwell, that no man was safe in their company, but he who resolved before, not to believe one word they said. These two persons knew well how to humour sir John Berkley, who believed them the more, because they seemed very much to blame Ireton's stubbornness towards the king, and to fear that he often prevailed upon Cromwell against his own inclinations: they informed him of many particulars which passed in the council of officers, and sometimes of advice from Cromwell, that was clean contrary to what the king received by Ashburnham as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true, (as it may be the other was too,) which exceedingly confirmed sir John in the good opinion he had of his two friends. They were the first who positively advertised the king by him, that Cromwell would never do him service; and the first who seemed to apprehend that the king's person was in danger, and that there was some secret design upon his life.

I do not believe that sir John Berkley knew any thing of the king's purpose in his intended escape, or whither he resolved to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he resolved at such an hour, and in such a place, to take horse, and was himself required to attend him; nor do I, in truth, think that the king himself, when he took horse, resolved whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the city; others, that he intended for Jersey; and that was the ground of the question to Mr. Ashburnham, "where is the ship?" Certain it is that the king never thought of going to the Isle of Wight. I am not sure that Mr. Ashburnham, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief officers of the army, and believed the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the agitators, and the levelling party, had not the Isle of Wight in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his majesty thought it necessary to make an escape from the army. It had been a difficult task to go about to dissuade the king from an apprehension of his own safety, when it was much more natural to fear an assassination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr. Ashburnham had so great a detestation of the Scots, that he expected no good from their fraternity, the presbyterians of the city; and did really believe that if his majesty should put himself into their hands, as was advised by many, with a purpose that he should be there concealed, till some favourable conjuncture should offer itself, (for nobody imagined that, upon his arrival there, the city would have declared for him, and have entered into a contest with that army which had so lately subdued them,) I say he had no confidence in the security of such an escape, and very earnestly dissuaded his master from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of his was universally known, and, as hath been said before, was an ingredient into the composition of that civility and kindness the officers of the army had for him. They did, to him, frequently lament the levelling spirit that was gotten into the soldiers, which they foresaw would in the future be as inconvenient and mischievous to themselves, as it was, for the present, dangerous to the person of the king; which they seemed wonderfully to apprehend, and protested "that they knew not how to apply any remedy to it, whilst his majesty was in the army; but that they would quickly correct or subdue it, if the king were at any distance from them;" and it is not impossible, that, in such discourses, somebody who was trusted by them, if not one of themselves, might mention the Isle of Wight as a good place to retire to, and colonel Hammond as a man of good intentions; the minutes of which discourse Mr. Ashburnham might keep by him: for the lord Langdale's discourse of such a paper, which he himself saw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a mere fiction; to which, besides that he was a person of unblemished honour and veracity, he had not any temptation: yet Mr. Ashburnham did constantly deny that he ever saw any such paper, or had any thought of the Isle of Wight when the king left Hampton Court, and he never gave cause, in the subsequent actions of his life, to have his fidelity suspected. And it is probable, that Cromwell, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and desired to have taken his life, would have been glad to have blasted his reputation, by declaring that he had carried his master to the Isle of Wight, without his privity, upon his own presumption; which, how well soever intended, must have been looked upon by all men as such a transcendent crime, as must have deprived him of all compassion for the worst that could befall him.

This sudden unexpected absence of the king made a great impression upon the minds of all men, every man fancying that his majesty would do that which he wished he would do. The presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the city, (which they unreasonably thought he might easily do,) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the parliament and the army, and the many factions in the army, which every day appeared, to discover himself. The cavaliers hoped that he would transport himself into the parts beyond the seas, and quietly attend there those alterations at home, which might probably in a short time invite his return. The army was not without this apprehension, as imagining it the worst that could fall out to their purposes.

The parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the army, was most frighted with the imagination that the king was in the city, and would lurk there until some conspiracy should be ripe, and all his party should be present in London to second it; and therefore they no sooner heard that he was gone from Hampton Court, than they passed an ordinance of both houses, by which they declared, "that it should be confiscation of estate, and loss of life, to any man who presumed to harbour and conceal the king's person in his house, without revealing, and making it known to the parliament:" which, without doubt, would have terrified them all in such a manner, that if he had been in truth amongst them, he would quickly have been discovered, and given up. They caused some of the most notorious presbyterians' houses to be searched, as if they had been sure he had been there; and sent posts to all ports of the kingdom, "that they might be shut, and no person be suffered to embark, lest the king, in disguise, transport himself;" and a proclamation was issued out, "for the banishing all persons who had ever borne arms for the king, out of London, or any place within twenty miles of it;" and all persons of that kind, who, upon strict search, were found, were apprehended, and put into several prisons with all the circumstances of severity and rigour. But all these doubts were quickly cleared, and within two days Cromwell informed the house of commons, "that he had received letters from colonel Hammond, of all the manner of the king's coming to the Isle of

Wight, and the company that came with him; that he remained there in the castle of Carisbrook, till the pleasure of the parliament should be known." He assured them, "that colonel Hammond was so honest a man, and so much devoted to their service, that they need have no jealousy that he might be corrupted by any body;" and all this relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that all men concluded that the king was where he wished he should be. And from hence all those discourses, which are mentioned before to have fallen out after, took their original too probably.

And now the parliament maintained no further contests with the army, but tamely submitted to whatsoever they proposed; the presbyterians in both houses, and in the city, being in a terrible agony, that some close correspondences they had held with the king during his abode at Hampton Court, would be discovered; and therefore would give no further occasion of jealousy by any contradictions, leaving it to their clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the people by their pulpit-inflammations; and they stoutly discharged their trust.

But Cromwell had more cause to fear a fire in his own quarters, and that he had raised a spirit in the army which would not easily be quieted again. The agitators, who were first formed by him to oppose the parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, or mischief, that might result from the drowsy, dull presbyterian humour of Fairfax; who wished nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass:[1] these agitators had hitherto transcribed faithfully all the copies he had given them, and offered such advices to the parliament, and insisted upon such expostulations and demands, as were necessary, whilst there was either any purpose to treat with the king, or any reason to flatter his party. But now the king was gone from the army, and in such a place as the army could have no recourse to him, and that the parliament was become of so soft a temper, that the party of the army that was in it could make all necessary impression upon them, he desired to restrain the agitators of that liberty which they had so long enjoyed, and to keep them within stricter rules of obedience to their superiors, and to hinder their future meetings, and consultations concerning the settling the government of the kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be solely left to the parliament; whose authority, for the present, he thought best to uphold, and by it to establish all that was to be done. But the agitators would not be so dismissed from state affairs, of which they had so pleasant a relish; nor be at the mercy of the parliament, which they had so much provoked; and therefore, when they were admitted no more to consultations with their officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their officers, as any part of the church or state. They entered into new associations, and made many propositions to their officers, and to the parliament, to introduce an equality into all conditions, and a parity among all men; from whence they had the appellation of *levellers;* which appeared a great party. They did not only meet against the express command of their officers, but drew very considerable parties of the army to rendezvous, without the order or privity of their superiors; and there persuaded them to enter into such engagements, as would in a short time have dissolved the government of the army, and absolved them from a dependence upon their general officers. The suppression of this licence put Cromwell to the expense of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; so that after he had cajoled the parliament, as if the preservation of their authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and sent some false brothers to comply in the counsels of the conspirators, by that means having notice of their rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an ordinary guard at those meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having asked some questions of those whom he observed most active, and receiving insolent answers, he knocked two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his troop; and took such a number of them as he thought fit; whereof he presently caused some to be hanged, and sent others to London for a more formal trial. By two or three such encounters, for the obstinacy continued long, he totally subdued that spirit in the army, though it continued and increased very much in the kingdom; and if it had not been encountered at that time with that rough and brisk temper of Cromwell, it would presently have produced all imaginable confusion in the parliament, army, and kingdom.

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[1] This admirably characterizes their general; who, as appears from his printed Memoirs, seemed to know little or nothing of the cause of the public quarrel.—W.

All opposition being thus suppressed, and quieted, and Cromwell needing no other assistance to the carrying on his designs, than the present temper and inclination of the parliament, they sent a message to the king, shortly proposing to him, "that he would forthwith grant his royal assent to four acts of parliament; which they then sent to him." By one of them, he was to confess the war to have been raised by him against the parliament; and that he was guilty of all the blood that had been spilt. By another, he was totally to dissolve the government of the church by bishops, and to grant all the lands belonging to the church to such uses as they proposed; leaving the settling a future government in the place thereof to further time and counsels. By a third, he was to grant, and settle the militia in the manner and in the persons proposed, reserving not so much power in himself as any subject was capable of. In the last place, he was to sacrifice all those, who had served or adhered to him, to the mercy of the parliament.

And the persons, who were sent with these four bills, had liberty given to expect the king's answer only four days, and were then required to return to the parliament. With the commissioners of parliament there came likewise the commissioners of Scotland, who were present when the four bills and other propositions were delivered and read to the king, and they, the very next day, desired an audience; and, with much formality and confidence, delivered a declaration, and protestation on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland against those bills and propositions. They said, "they were so prejudicial to religion, the crown, and the union and interest of the kingdoms, and so far different from the former proceedings and engagements between the two kingdoms, that they could not concur therein; and therefore, in the name of the whole kingdom of Scotland, did declare their dissent." The king had received advertisement, that as soon as he should refuse to consent to the bills, he should presently be made a close prisoner, and all his servants should be removed from him; upon which, and because the commissioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his positive answer, he resolved that his answer should not be known till it was delivered to the parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his escape from thence, before new orders could be sent from Westminster: so when the commissioners came to receive his answer, he gave it to them sealed. The earl of Denbigh, who was the chief of the commissioners, and a person very ungrateful to the king, told him, "that though they had no authority to treat with him, or to do any thing but to receive his answer, yet they were not to be looked upon as common messengers, and to carry back an answer that they had not seen:" and, upon the matter, refused to receive it; and said, "they would return without any, except they might see what they carried."

His majesty conceived that their return without his answer would be attended with the worst consequences; and therefore he told them, "that he had some reason for having offered to deliver it to them in that manner; but if they would give him their words, that the communicating it to them should be attended with no prejudice to him, he would open it, and cause it to be read;" which they readily undertook, (as in truth they knew no reason to suspect it,) and thereupon he opened it, and gave it one to read. The answer was, "that his majesty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty to comply in such a manner with all engaged interests, that a firm and lasting peace might ensue; in which opinion he was now confirmed, since the commissioners for Scotland do solemnly protest against the several bills and propositions, which the two houses of parliament had presented to him for his assent; so that it was not possible for him to give such an answer as might be the foundation of a hopeful peace." He gave them many unanswerable reasons, "why he could not pass the four bills as they were offered to him; which did not only divest him of all sovereignty, and without any possibility of recovering it to him or his successors, but opened a door for all intolerable oppressions upon his subjects, he granting such an arbitrary and illimited power to the two houses." He told them, "that neither the desire of being freed from that tedious and irksome condition of life, which he had so long suffered, nor the apprehension of any thing that might befall him, should ever prevail with him to consent to any one act, till the conditions of the whole peace should be concluded; and then that he would be ready to give all just and reasonable satisfaction, in all particulars; and for the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a personal treaty, (and therefore very earnestly desired the two houses to consent to it,) to be either at London, or any other place they would rather choose." As soon as this answer, or to the same effect, was read, he delivered it to the commissioners; who no sooner received it than they kissed his hand, and departed for Westminster.

The commissioners were no sooner gone than Hammond caused all the king's servants, who till then had all liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the castle; and forbad any of them to repair thither any more; and appointed a strong guard to restrain any body from going to the king, if they should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled and surprised him, being an absolute disappointment of all the hope he had left. He told Hammond, "that it was not suitable to his engagement, and that it did not become a man of honour or honesty to treat him so, who had so freely put himself into his hands. He asked him, whether the commissioners were acquainted with his purpose to proceed in this manner?" To which he answered, "that they were not; but that he had an order from the parliament to do as he had done; and that he saw plainly by his answer to the propositions, that he acted by other counsels than stood with the good of the kingdom."

This insolent and imperious proceeding put the whole island (which was generally inhabited by a people always well affected to the crown) into a high mutiny. They said, "they would not endure to see their king so used, and made a prisoner." There was at that time there one captain Burly, who was of a good family in the island. He had been a captain of one of the king's ships, and was put out of his command when the fleet rebelled against the king; and then he put himself into the king's army, where he continued an officer of good account to the end of the war, and was in one of the king's armies general of the ordnance. When the war was at an end, he repaired into his own country, the Isle of Wight; where many of his family still lived in good reputation. This gentleman chanced to be at Newport, the chief town in the island, when the king was thus treated, and when the people seemed generally to resent it with so much indignation; and was so much transported with the same fury, being a man of more courage than of prudence and circumspection, that he caused a drum to be presently beaten, and put himself at the head of the people who flocked together, and cried, "for God, the king, and the people;" and said, "he would lead them to the castle, and rescue the king from his captivity." The attempt was presently discerned to be irrational and impossible; and by the great diligence and activity of the king's servants, who had been put out of the castle, the people were quieted, and all men resorted to their own houses; but the poor gentleman paid dear for his ill advised and precipitate loyalty. For Hammond caused him presently to be made prisoner; and the parliament, without delay, sent down a commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer;* in which an infamous judge, Wild, whom they had made chief baron of the exchequer for such services, presided; who caused poor Burly to be, with all formality, indicted of high treason for levying war against the king, and engaging the kingdom in a new war; of which the jury they had brought together, found him guilty; upon which their judge condemned him, and the honest man was forthwith hanged, drawn, and quartered, with all the circumstances of barbarity and cruelty; which struck a wonderful terror into all men, this being the first precedent of their having brought any man to a formal legal trial by the law to deprive him of his life, and make him guilty of high treason for adhering to the king; and it made a deeper impression upon the hearts of all men, than all the cruelties they had yet exercised by their courts of war; which, though they took away the lives of many innocent men, left their estates to their wives and children: but when they saw now, that they might be condemned of high treason before a sworn judge of the law for serving the king, by which their estates would be likewise confiscated, they thought they should be justified if they kept their hearts entire, without being involved by their actions in a capital transgression.

Upon the receipt of the king's answer, there appeared a new spirit and temper in the house of commons; hitherto, no man had mentioned the king's person without duty and respect, and only lamented "that he was misled by evil and wicked counsellors; who being removed from him, he might by the advice of his parliament govern well enough." But now, upon the refusal to pass these bills, every man's mouth was opened against him with the utmost sauciness and licence; each man striving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterness of his invective. Cromwell declared, "that the king was a man of great parts, and great understanding,"[1] (faculties they had hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without,) "but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted." And thereupon repeated many particulars, whilst he was in the army, that his majesty wished that such and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it: "That whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had, at the same time, secret treaties with the Scottish commissioners,[2] how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the parliament." He concluded, "that they might no further trouble themselves with sending messages to him, or further propositions, but that they might enter upon those counsels which were necessary towards the settlement of the kingdom, without having further recourse to the king." Those of his party seconded this good advice with new reproaches upon the person of the king, charging him with such abominable actions, as had been never heard of, and could be only suggested from the malice of their own hearts; whilst men who had any modesty, and abhorred that way of proceeding, stood amazed and confounded at the manner and presumption of it, and without courage to give any notable opposition to their rage. So that, after several days spent in passionate debates to this purpose, they voted, " that they would make no more addresses to the king, but proceed towards settling the government, and providing for the peace of the kingdom, in such manner as they should judge best for the benefit and liberty of the subject:" and a committee was appointed to prepare a declaration to inform and satisfy the people of this their resolution, and the grounds thereof, and to assure them, " that they had lawful authority to proceed in this manner." In the mean time, the king, who had, from the time of his coming to the Isle of Wight, enjoyed the liberty of taking the air,[1] and refreshing himself throughout the island, and was attended by such servants as he had appointed, or sent for, to come thither to him, to the time that he had refused to pass those bills, from thenceforth was no more suffered to go out of the castle beyond a little ill garden that belonged to it. And now, after this vote of the house of commons, that there should be no more addresses made to him, all his servants were removed, and a few new men, utterly unknown to his majesty, were deputed to be about his person to perform all those offices which they believed might be requisite, and of whose fidelity to themselves they were as well assured, as that they were without any reverence or affection for the king.

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[1] See page 2179.—W.

[2] This was undoubtedly true. But how far it was just to combat deceit with deceit, in a public negotiation between a king subdued and his subjects triumphant, is not a thing easy to be decided. However, it was evidently his ruin.—W.

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[1] This was another unaccountable piece of conduct in the king, that when he had been brought to the Isle of Wight he knew not how, but when he could not engage Hammond's word to let him go as he came, whenever he should choose it, saw, and said, that he was ruined, that he should not employ the liberty he had from his first coming to the arrival of the parliament commissioners, to take the first opportunity of escaping. But the bringing him to the scaffold seemed to be as much the work of inevitable destiny, as any event recorded in the civil history of mankind. Otherwise *Watson's* early intelligence left the king nothing else to do.—W.

It is very true, that within few days after the king's withdrawing from Hampton Court, and after it was known that he was in the Isle of Wight, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at Windsor, where Cromwell and Ireton were present, to consult what should be now done with the king. For, though Cromwell was weary of the agitators, and resolved to break their meetings, and though the parliament concurred in all he desired, yet his entire confidence was in the officers of the army; who were they who swayed the parliament, and the army itself, to bring what he intended to pass. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof were always fastings and prayers, made at the very council by Cromwell or Ireton, or some other *inspired* person, as most of the officers were, it was resolved, "that the king should be prosecuted for his life as a criminal person:" of which his majesty was advertised speedily by Watson, quarter master general of the army; who was present; and had pretended, from the first coming of the king to the army, to have a desire to serve him, and desired to be now thought to retain it; but the resolution was a great secret, of which the parliament had not the least intimation or jealousy; but was, as it had been, to be cozened by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his majesty easily persuaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would murder him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the people know their intentions. The approach they made towards it, was, their declaration, "that they would make no more addresses to the king," that by an interregnum they might feel the pulse of the people, and discover how they would submit to another form of government; and yet all writs, and process of justice, and all commissions, still issued in the king's name without his consent or privity; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the king himself, and by his immediate order, was now performed by the parliament; and, instead of acts of parliament, they made ordinances of the two houses to serve all their occasions; which found the same obedience from the people.

This declaration of no more addresses contained a charge against the king of whatsoever had been done amiss from the beginning of his government, or before, not without a direct insinuation, as if "he had conspired with the duke of Buckingham against the life of his father; the prejudice he had brought upon the protestant religion in foreign parts, by lending his ships to the king of France, who employed them against Rochelle:" they renewed the remembrance and reproach of all those grievances which had been mentioned in their first remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contained in all their declarations before and after the war; which had been all so fully answered by his majesty, that the world was convinced of their rebellion and treason: they charged him with being "the cause of all the blood that had been spilt, by his having made a war upon his parliament, and rejecting all overtures of peace which had been made to him; and in all these regards, they resolved to make no more address to him, but, by their own authority, to provide for the peace and welfare of the kingdom."

This declaration found much opposition in the house of commons, in respect of the particular reproaches they had now cast upon the person of the king, which they had heretofore, in their own published declarations to the people, charged upon the evil counsellors, and persons about him; and some persons had been sentenced, and condemned, for those very crimes which they now accused his majesty of. But there was much more exception to their conclusion from those premises, that therefore they would address themselves no more to him; and John Maynard, a member of the house, and a lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular and unjust proceedings, after he had with great vehemence opposed and contradicted the most odious parts of their declaration, told them plainly, "that by this resolution of making no more addresses to the king, they did, as far as in them lay, dissolve the parliament; and that, from the time of that determination, he knew not with what security, in point of law, they could meet together, or any man join with them in their counsels: that it was of the essence of parliament, that they should upon all occasions repair to the king; and that his majesty's refusal at any time to receive their petitions, or to admit their addresses, had been always held the highest breach of their privilege, because it tended to their dissolution without dissolving them; and therefore if they should now, on their parts, determine that they would receive no more messages from him, (which was likewise a part of their declaration,) nor make any more address to him, they did, upon the matter, declare that they were no longer a parliament: and then, how could the people look upon them as such?" This argumentation being boldy pressed by a man of that learning and authority, who had very seldom not been believed, made a great impression upon all men who had not prostituted themselves to Cromwell and his party. But the other side meant not to maintain their resolution by discourses, well knowing where their strength lay; and so still called for the question; which was carried by a plurality of voices, as they foresaw it would; very many persons who abhorred the determination, not having courage enough to provoke the powerful men by owning their dissent; others satisfying themselves with the resolution to withdraw themselves, and to bear no further part in the counsels; which Maynard himself did, and came no more to the house in very many months, nor till there seemed to be such an alteration in the minds of men, that there would be a reversal of that monstrous determination; and many others did the same.

When this declaration was thus passed the commons, and by them sent to the house of peers for their concurrence, the manner or the matter was not thought of that importance as to need much debate; but, with as little formality as was possible, it had the concurrence of that house, and was immediately printed and published, and new orders sent to the Isle of Wight, for the more strict looking to and guarding the king, that he might not escape.

The publishing this declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the people, from what they expected it would produce; and it appeared to be so publicly detested, that many who had served the parliament in several unwarrantable employments and commissions, from the beginning of the war, in the city and in the country, withdrew themselves from the service of the parliament; and much inveighed against it, for declining all the principles upon which they had engaged them. Many private persons took upon them to publish answers to that odious declaration, that, the king himself being under so strict a restraint that he could make no answer, the people might not be poisoned with the belief of it.[1] And the several answers of this kind wrought very much upon the people, who opened their mouths very loud against the parliament and the army; and the clamour was increased by the increase of taxes and impositions, which were raised by new ordinances of parliament upon the kingdom; and though they were so entirely possessed of the whole kingdom, and the forces and garrisons thereof, that they had no enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their army; and notwithstanding they raised incredible sums of money, upon the sale of the church and the crown lands; for which they found purchasers enough amongst their own party in the city, army, and country, and upon composition with delinquents, and the sale of their lands who refused, or could not be admitted, to compound, (which few refused to do who could be admitted, in regard that their estates were all under sequestration, and the rents thereof paid to the parliament, so that till they compounded they had nothing to support themselves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and necessities, and were compelled to make their compositions, at how unreasonable rates soever, that they might thereby be enabled to sell some part, that they might preserve the rest, and their houses from being pulled down, and their woods from being wasted or spoiled;) notwithstanding all these vast receipts, which they ever pretended should ease the people of their burden, and should suffice to pay the army their expenses at sea and land, their debts were so great, that they raised the public taxes; and, besides all customs and excise, they levied a monthly contribution of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds by a land tax throughout the kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no enemy who contended with them, was an evidence that it would have no end, and that the army was still to be kept up, to make good the resolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the king; and that made the resolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more insupportable, by reason that, upon the publishing this last monstrous declaration, most of those persons of condition, who, as hath been said before, had been seduced to do them service throughout the kingdom, declined to appear longer in so detestable an employment; and now a more inferior sort of the common people succeeded in those employments, who thereby exercised so great insolence over those who were in quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that it was very grievous; and for this, let the circumstances be what they would, no redress could be ever obtained, all distinction of quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior constables, six or seven years before, were now the justices of peace, and sequestrators, and commissioners; who executed the commands of the parliament, in all the counties of the kingdom, with such rigour and tyranny, as was natural for such persons to use over and towards those upon whom they had formerly looked at such a distance. But let their sufferings be never so great, and the murmur and discontent never so general, there was no shadow of hope by which they might discern any possible relief: so that they who had struggled as long as they were able, submitted patiently to the yoke, with the more satisfaction, in that they saw many of those who had been the principal contrivers of all the mischiefs to satisfy their own ambition, and that they might govern others, reduced to almost as ill a condition as themselves, at least to as little power, and authority, and security; whilst the whole government of the nation remained, upon the matter, wholly in their hands who in the beginning of the parliament were scarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

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[1] i. e. *belief* of the allegations contained in it.—W.

The king being in this melancholic neglected condition, and the kingdom possessed by the new rulers, without control, in the new method of government, where every thing was done, and submitted to, which they propounded, they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their peace, and future security; that besides the general discontent of the nation, which for the present they did not fear, they were to expect new troubles from Ireland, and from Scotland; which would, in the progress, have an influence upon England.

In Ireland, (which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and contests between the parliament and the army, and from the king's being in the army,) though they were possessed of Dublin, and, upon the matter, of the whole province of Munster, by the activity of the lord Inchiquin, and the lord Broghill; yet the Irish rebels had very great forces, which covered all the other parts of the kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the Irish, whom they vanquished as often as they saw, and never declined fighting upon any inequality of numbers: they had an apprehension of another enemy. The marquis of Ormond had often attended the king at Hampton Court, and had great resort to him, whilst he stayed in London, by all those who had served the king, and not less by those who were known to be unsatisfied with the proceedings both of the parliament and the army; and by the Scottish commissioners, who had frequently private meetings with him; insomuch as the officers of the army, who gave the first motion to all extravagant acts of power, had resolved to have apprehended and imprisoned him, as a man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his articles, he had liberty to stay six months where he would in England, (which time was little more than half expired,) and then he might transport himself into what part he desired beyond the seas. The marquis had notice of this their purpose; and having conferred with his majesty as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight of what was like to fall out, shortly after, or about the time that the king left Hampton Court, he in disguise, and without being attended by more than one servant, rid into Sussex; and, in an obscure and unguarded port or harbour, put himself on board a shallop, which safely transported him into Normandy; from whence he waited upon the queen, and the prince of Wales, at Paris; to whom he could not but be very welcome.

At the same time, there were commissioners arrived from Ireland from the confederate catholics; who, after they had driven the king's authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preservation. The factions grew so great amongst the Irish themselves, and the pope's nuncio exercised his authority with so great tyranny and insolence, that all were weary of him; and found that the parliament, as soon as they should send more forces over, would easily, by reason of their divisions, reduce them into great straits and necessities. They therefore sent commissioners to the queen and prince to desire, "that, by their favour, they might have the king's authority again among them;" to which they promised, for the future, a ready obedience, with many acknowledgments of their former miscarriage and behaviour. It is very true that the marquis of Antrim, who was one of the commissioners, and was always inseparable from the highest ambition, (though without any qualifications for any great trust,) had entertained the hope, that by the queen's favour, who had too good an opinion of him, the government of Ireland should be committed to him, and his conduct; which none of the other commissioners thought of, nor had their eyes fixed on any man but the marquis of Ormond, in whom the king's authority was vested; for he remained still lieutenant of Ireland by the king's commission; and they had reason to believe that all the English protestants, who had formerly lived under his government, (without a conjunction with whom, they well foresaw the Irish would not be able to defend or preserve themselves,) would return to the same obedience, as soon as he should return to receive it. The queen and the prince thought not of trusting any other in that most hazardous and difficult employment, and so referred the commissioners to make all their overtures and propositions to him; who knew well enough, what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted soever he was to the king's service, nothing proposed or undertaken by them, could have been the least inducement to him to engage himself, and to depend upon their fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire zeal for the king's service, to which he had dedicated himself, made him believe that he might with some success appear again in that kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his so doing might have a good effect upon the temper of England and towards the mending his majesty's condition there.

First, the cardinal Mazarine (who then absolutely governed France) seemed very earnestly to advise it, and promised to supply him with a good sum of money, and store of arms and ammunition to carry with him; which he knew very well how to dispose of there. Secondly, he was privy to the Scottish engagement, and to a resolution of many persons of great honour in England, to appear in arms at the same time; which was designed for the summer following; whereby the parliament, and army, which were like to have new divisions amongst themselves, would not be able to send any considerable supplies into Ireland; without which, their power there was not like to be formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater encouragement than the other two, he had, during his abode in England, held a close correspondence with the lord Inchiquin, president of the province of Munster in Ireland, who had the full power and command of all the English army there; which was a better body of men than the parliament had in any other part of that kingdom. That lord was weary of his masters, and did not think the service he had done the parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole kingdom had been united to his majesty's service) well requited; and did really and heartily abhor the proceedings of the parliament, and army, towards the king; and did therefore resolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiss, with exposing all he had for his majesty's restoration; and had frankly promised the marquis to receive him into Munster, as the king's lieutenant of that kingdom; and that that whole province, and army, should pay him all obedience; and that against the time he should be sure of his presence, he would make a cessation with the Irish in order to a firm conjunction of that whole kingdom for the king. And after the marquis came into France, he received still letters from that lord to hasten his journey thither.

These were the motives which disposed the marquis to comply with the queen's and the prince's command to prepare himself for that expedition; and so he concerted all things with the Irish commissioners; who returned into their country, with promises to dispose their general assembly to consent to those conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the king, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

The parliament had too many spies and agents at Paris, not to be informed of whatsoever was whispered there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the Irish, (for of the lord Inchiquin they had no suspicion,) or whether they were confident of the cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance any design against them, they were not so apprehensive of trouble from Ireland as they were of their brethren from Scotland; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpose to call a parliament, and to raise an army; which, they believed, would find too many friends in England, the presbyterian party holding up their heads again, both in the parliament, and the city. Besides, they knew that some persons of quality and interest, who had served the king in good command in the late war, were gone into Scotland, and well received there; which, they thought, would draw the king's party together upon the first appearance.

After the king had been so infamously delivered up to the parliament by the Scots at Newcastle, and as soon as the army had possessed themselves of him, that nation was in terrible apprehension that the officers of the army would have made their peace, and established their own greatness by restoring the king to his just rights, of which they had so foully deprived him; and then the conscience of their guilt made them presume, what their lot must be; and therefore, the same commissioners who had been joined with the committee of parliament in all the transactions, made haste to Westminster again to their old seats, to keep their interest; which was great in all the presbyterian party, both of parliament and city; for there remained still the same profession of maintaining the strict union between the two kingdoms, and that all transactions should be by joint counsels. And as soon as the king appeared with some show of liberty, and his own servants had leave to attend him, no men appeared with more confidence than the Scottish commissioners; the earl of Lowden, the earl of Lautherdale, and the rest; as if they had been the men who had contrived his restoration: no men in so frequent whispers with the king; and they found some way to get themselves so much believed by the queen, with whom they held a diligent correspondence, that her majesty very earnestly persuaded the king "to trust them, as the only persons who had power and credit to do him service, and to redeem him from the captivity he was in." Duke Hamilton, who had been sent prisoner by the king to the castle of Pendennis, and had been delivered from thence by the army, when that place was taken in the end of the war, had enjoyed his liberty and his pleasure at London, and in his own house at Chelsea, as long as he thought fit, that is, as long as the king was with the Scottish army and at Newcastle; and when he was delivered up to the parliament commissioners, he went into Scotland without seeing the king to his own house at Hamilton; looked upon by that nation as one who had unjustly suffered under the king's jealousy and displeasure, and who remained still very faithful to him; and during the time that he remained in and about London, he found means to converse with many of the king's party, and made great professions that he would do the king a very signal service, which he desired them to assure his majesty of; and seemed exceedingly troubled and asham-at his countrymen's giving up the king. And his having no share in that infamy made him the more trusted in England, and to be received with the more respect in Scotland by all those who abhorred that transaction.

The commissioners who attended his majesty made great apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the "malice and power of the marquis of Argyle, and to his credit and authority in the council and in the army; so that nothing could be done which was desired by honest men; but that now duke Hamilton was amongst them, who they knew was most devoted to his majesty, they should be able to overpower Argyle; and the proceedings of the army and the parliament were so foul, and so contrary to their public faith, that they were confident that all Scotland would rise as one man for his majesty's defence and vindication; and they were well assured, there would such a party in England of those who were faithful to his majesty appear at the same time, that there would be little question of being able, between them, to be hard enough for that part of the army that would oppose them;" which his majesty knew well was resolved by many persons of honour, who afterwards performed what they had promised.

When the commissioners had, by these insinuations, gained new credit with the king, and had undertaken, that their invading England with an army equal to the undertaking, should be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend, (for no attempt in England could be reasonable before such an invasion, which was likewise to be hastened, that it might be at the same time when the marquis of Ormond should appear in Ireland,) they begun to propose to him many conditions, which would be necessary for his majesty to engage himself to perform towards that nation; without which it would not be easy to engage it in so unanimous a consent and engagement, as was necessary for such an enterprise. They required, as a thing without which nothing was to be undertaken, " that the prince of Wales should be present with them, and march in the head of their army; and desired that advertisement, and order, might be sent to that purpose to the queen and the prince at Paris; that so his highness might be ready for the voyage, as soon as they should be prepared to receive him." The king would by no means consent that the prince should go into Scotland, being too well acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that people; but he was contented, that when they should have entered England with their army, then the prince of Wales should put himself in the head of them. They demanded, " that such a number of Scotchmen should be always in the court, of the bedchamber, and all other places about the persons, of the king, and prince, and duke of York: that Berwick and Carlisle should be put into the hands of the Scots;" and some other concessions with reference to the northern counties; which trenched so far upon the honour and interest of the English, that his majesty utterly refused to consent to it; and so the agreement was not concluded when the king left Hampton Court. But, as soon as he was at the Isle of Wight, the Scottish commissioners repaired to him, at the same time with those who were sent to him from the parliament for his royal assent to those four bills spoken of before; then, in that season of despair, they prevailed with him to sign the propositions he had formerly refused; and, having great apprehension, from the jealousies they knew the army had of them, that they should be seized upon, and searched in their return to London, they made up their precious contract in lead; and buried it in a garden in the Isle of Wight; from whence they easily found means afterwards to receive it. So constant was this people to their principles, and so wary to be sure to be no losers by returning to their allegiance; to which neither conscience nor honour did invite or dispose them. So after a stay of some months at London to adjust all accounts, and receive the remainder of those monies they had so dearly earned, or so much of it as they had hope would be paid, they returned to Scotland, with the hatred and contempt of the army, and the parliament, that was then governed by it; but with the veneration of the presbyterian party, which still had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future negociation; which was now incumbent upon them: and, in order thereunto, a fast intercourse and correspondence was settled, as well by constant letters, as by frequent emissaries of their clergy, or other persons, whose devotion to their combination was unquestionable.

It can never be enough wondered at that the Scottish presbyterians, being a watchful and crafty people, the principal of whom were as unrestrained by conscience as any of the officers of the army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, should yet hope to carry on their interest by such conditions and limitations, as all wise men saw must absolutely ruin and destroy it. They knew well enough the spirit of their own people, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their whole dependence was upon the assistance they should find ready to join with them in England. It is true, they did believe the body of the presbyterians in England to be much more considerable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the most considerable persons who in the contest with the other faction were content to be thought presbyterians, were so only as they thought it might restore the king; which they more impatiently desired, than any alteration in the government of the church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the royal party, upon whose interest, conduct, and courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the Scots; who did publicly profess that all the king's friends should be most welcome, and received by them: nor did they trust any one presbyterian in England with the knowledge of the particulars contained in the agreement with the king; but concealed it between the three persons who transacted it; and if it had been known, Cromwell might as easily have over-run their country before their army invaded England, as he did afterwards; nor would one Englishman have joined with them. Besides the infamous circumstances by which they extorted concessions from the king, which would have rendered any contract odious, (it being made in those four days, which were all that were assigned both to the English and Scottish commissioners, so that his majesty had not only no time to advise with others, but could not advise with himself upon so many monstrous particulars as were demanded of him by both kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more then have submitted to them, than he did afterwards upon longer deliberation, and when his life appeared to be in more manifest danger by his refusal,) the particulars themselves were the most scandalous, and derogatory to the honour and interest of the English nation; and would have been abominated, if known and understood, by all men, with all possible indignation.

After they had made his majesty give a good testimony of their league and covenant, in the preface of their agreement, and "that the intentions of those who had entered into it were real for the preservation of his majesty's person and authority, according to their allegiance, and no ways to diminish his just power and greatness," they obliged him "as soon as he could, with freedom, honour, and safety, be present in a free parliament, to confirm the said league and covenant by act of parliament in both kingdoms, for the security of all who had taken, or should take it." It is true, they admitted a proviso, "that none who was unwilling, should be constrained to take it." They likewise obliged his majesty "to confirm by act of parliament in England, presbyterian government; the Directory for worship; and the assembly of divines at Westminster, for three years; so that his majesty, and his household, should not be hindered from using that form of divine service he had formerly practised; and that during those three years there should be a consultation with the assembly of divines, to which twenty of the king's nomination should be added, and some from the church of Scotland; and thereupon it should be determined by his majesty, and the two houses of parliament, what form of government should be established after the expiration of those years, as should be most agreeable to the word of God: that an effectual course should be taken by act of parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the suppressing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brownists, Separatists, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers, and, generally, for the suppressing all blasphemy, heresy, schism, and all such scandalous doctrines and practices as are contrary to the light of nature, and to the known principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation, or the power of godliness, or which may be destructive to order and government, or to the peace of the church or kingdom." The king promised, "that in the next session of parliament, after the kingdom of Scotland should declare for his majesty, in pursuance of this agreement, he should in person, or by commission, confirm the league and covenant in that kingdom; and concerning all the acts passed in the last parliament of that kingdom," his majesty declared, "that he should then likewise be content to give assurance by act of parliament, that neither he, nor his successors, should quarrel, call in question, or command the contrary of any of them, nor question any for giving obedience to the same." Then they made a long recital of "the agreement the parliament of England had made, when the Scots army returned to Scotland, that the army under Fairfax should be disbanded; and of that army's not submitting thereunto; of their taking the king from Holmby, and keeping him prisoner till he fled from them to the Isle of Wight; and since that time both his majesty, and the commissioners for the kingdom of Scotland, had very earnestly desired that the king might come to London, in safety, honour, and freedom, for a personal treaty with the two houses and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland; which, they said, had been granted, but that the army had, in violent manner, forced away divers members of the parliament from the discharge of their trust, and possessed themselves of the city of London, and all the strengths and garrisons of the kingdoms: and that by the strength and influence of that army, and their adherents, propositions and bills had been sent to the king without the advice and consent of the kingdom of Scotland, contrary to the treaties which are between the two kingdoms, and destructive to religion, his majesty's just rights, the privileges of parliament, and liberty of the subject; from which propositions and bills the Scottish commissioners had dissented, and protested against, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland."

After this preamble and recital, they said, "that forasmuch as his majesty is willing to give satisfaction concerning the settling religion, and other matters in difference, as is expressed in this agreement, the kingdom of Scotland doth oblige and engage itself, first, in a peaceable way and manner to endeavour that the king may come to London in safety, honour, and freedom, for a personal treaty with the houses of parliament and the commissioners of Scotland, upon such propositions as should be mutually agreed on between the kingdoms, and such propositions as his majesty should think fit to make; and for this end all armies should be disbanded: and in case that this should not be granted, that declarations should be emitted by the kingdom of Scotland in pursuance of this agreement, against the unjust proceedings of the two houses of parliament towards his majesty and the kingdom of Scotland; in which they would assert the right that belonged to the crown, in the power of the militia, the great seal, bestowing of honours and offices of trust, choice of the privy counsellors, and the right of the king's negative voice in parliament: and that the queen's majesty, the prince, and the rest of the royal issue, ought to remain where his majesty shall think fit in either of his kingdoms, with safety, honour, and freedom: that, upon the issuing out this declaration, an army should be sent out of Scotland into England, for the preservation and establishment of religion; for defence of his majesty's person and authority, and restoring him to his government, to the just rights of the crown, and his full revenues; for defence of the privileges of parliament, and liberties of the subject; for making a firm union between the kingdoms under his majesty, and his posterity, and settling a lasting peace." In pursuance whereof, the kingdom of Scotland was to endeavour "that there might be a free and full parliament in England, and that his majesty may be with them in honour, safety, and freedom; and that a speedy period be set to the present parliament. And they undertook, that the army which they would raise should be upon its march, before the message and declaration should be delivered to the houses." It was further agreed, "that all such in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, as would join with the kingdom of Scotland in pursuance of this agreement, should be protected by his majesty in their persons and estates; and that all his majesty's subjects in England or Ireland who would join with him, in pursuance of this agreement, might come to the Scottish army, and join with them, or else put themselves into other bodies in England or Wales, for prosecution of the same ends, as the king's majesty should judge most convenient, and under such commanders, or generals of the English nation, as his majesty should think fit: and that all such should be protected by the kingdom of Scotland, and their army, in their persons and estates; and where any injury or wrong is done unto them, they would be careful to see them fully repaired, as far as it should be in their power to do; and likewise when any injury or wrong is done to those who join with the kingdom of Scotland, his majesty shall be careful of their full reparation."

They obliged his majesty to promise "that neither himself, nor any by his authority or knowledge, should make or admit of any cessation, pacification, or agreement whatsoever for peace, nor of any treaty, propositions, bills, or any other ways for that end, with the houses of parliament, or any army or party in England, or Ireland, without the advice and consent of the kingdom of Scotland; and, reciprocally, that neither the kingdom of Scotland, nor any having their authority, should make or admit of any of these any manner of way, with any whatsoever, without his majesty's advice or consent: and that, upon the settlement of a peace, there should be an act of oblivion to be agreed on by his majesty, and both his parliaments of both kingdoms; that his majesty, the prince, or both, should come into Scotland upon the invitation of that kingdom, and their declaration, that they should be in honour, freedom, and safety, when possibly they could come with safety and convenience; and that the king should contribute his utmost endeavour, both at home and abroad, for assisting the kingdom of Scotland for carrying on this war by sea and land, and for their supplies by monies, arms, ammunition, and all other things requisite, as also for guarding the coasts of Scotland with ships, and protecting all their merchants in the free exercise of their trade and commerce with other nations; and likewise that his majesty was willing, and did authorize the Scottish army to possess themselves of Berwick, Carlisle, Newcastle upon Tyne, with the castle of Tinmouth, and the town of Hartlepool: those places to be for retreat, and magazines; and that, when the peace of the kingdom should be settled, the kingdom of Scotland should remove their forces, and deliver back again those towns and castles."

And as if all this had not been recompense enough for the wonderful service they were like to perform, they obliged the king to promise, and undertake to pay, the remainder of that brotherly assistance which was yet unpaid upon the large treaty after their first invasion of England, and likewise two hundred thousand pounds, which remained still due upon the last treaty made with the houses of parliament for return of the Scottish army, when they had delivered up the king; and also, "that payment should be made to the kingdom of Scotland, for the charge and expense of their army in this future war, with due recompense for the losses which they should sustain therein; and that due satisfaction, according to the treaty on that behalf betwixt the two kingdoms, should be made to the Scottish army in Ireland, out of the lands of the kingdom, or otherwise: and that the king, according to the intention of his father, should endeavour a complete union of the two kingdoms, so as they may be one under his majesty, and his posterity; or if that cannot speedily be effected, that all liberties and privileges, concerning commerce, traffic, manufactures, peculiar to the subjects of either nation, shall be common to the subjects of both kingdoms without distinction; and that there be a communication, and mutual capacity, of all other privileges of the subjects in the two kingdoms: that a competent number of ships should be yearly assigned, and appointed out of his majesty's navy, which should attend the coasts of Scotland, for a guard, and freedom of trade of that nation; and that his majesty should declare that his successors, as well as himself, are obliged to the performance of the articles and conditions of this agreement; but that his majesty shall not be obliged to the performance of the aforesaid articles, until the kingdom of Scotland shall declare for him in pursuance of this agreement; and that the whole articles and conditions aforesaid shall be finished, perfected, and performed, before the return of the Scottish army; and that when they return into Scotland, at the same time, *simul et semel*, all armies should be disbanded in England." And for a compliment, and to give a relish to all the rest, the king engaged himself "to employ those of the Scottish nation equally with the English in all foreign employments, and negociations; and that a third part of all the offices and places about the king, queen, and prince, should be conferred upon some persons of that nation; and that the king and prince, or one of them, will frequently reside in Scotland, that the subjects of that kingdom may be known to them." This treaty and agreement being thus presented to the king by the Scottish commissioners in the castle of Carisbrook, his majesty was prevailed with to sign the same the 26th day of December, 1647; and to oblige himself, "in the word of a king, to perform his part of the said articles;" and the earl of Lowden, chancellor of Scotland, and the earl of Lautherdale, and the earl of Lanrick, being intrusted as commissioners from that kingdom, signed it likewise at the same time; and engaged themselves "upon their honour, faith, and conscience, and all that is dear to honest men, to endeavour to the utmost of their power, that the kingdom of Scotland should engage to perform what was on its part to be performed; which they were confident the kingdom of Scotland would do, and they themselves would hazard their lives and fortunes in pursuance thereof."

No man who reads this treaty (which very few men have ever done) can wonder that such an engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contained so many monstrous concessions, that, except the whole kingdom of England had been likewise imprisoned in Carisbrook castle with the king, it could not be imagined that it was possible to be performed; and the three persons who were parties to it were too wise to believe that it could be punctually observed; which they used as the best argument, and which only prevailed with the king, "that the treaty was only made to enable them to engage the kingdom of Scotland to raise an army, and to unite it in his majesty's service; which less than those concessions would never induce them to do; but when that army should be entered into England, and so many other armies should be on foot of his English subjects for the vindication of his interest, there would be nobody to exact all those particulars; but every body would submit to what his majesty should think fit to be done;" which, though it had been urged more than once before to induce the king to consent to other inconveniences, which they would never after release to him, did prevail with him at this time. And, to confirm him in the belief of it, they were contented that it should be inserted under the same treaty, as it was, "that his majesty did declare, that by the clause of confirming presbyterian government by act of parliament, he is neither obliged to desire the settling presbyterian government, nor to present any bills to that effect; and that he likewise understands that no person whatsoever shall suffer in his estate, nor undergo any corporal punishment, for not submitting to presbyterian government; his majesty understanding that this should not extend to those who are mentioned against toleration:" and to this the three earls likewise subscribed their hands, "as witnesses only, as they said, that his majesty had made that declaration in their presence, not as assenters;" so wary they were of administering jealousy to their masters, or of being thought to be less rigid in so fundamental a point, as they knew that would be thought to be.

It was a wonderful difference, throughout their whole proceedings,[1] between the heads of those who were thought to sway the presbyterian counsels, and those who governed the independents, though they were equally masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice and wickedness in their intentions, though not of the same kind, and were equally unrestrained by any scruples or motions of conscience, the independents always doing that, which, how ill and unjustifiable soever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the presbyterians, for the most part, did always somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally designed; and there were two reasons that might naturally produce this ill success to the latter, at least hindered the even progress and current which favoured the other. First, their councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many men, whose humours and natures must be observed, and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on the same designs, though their inclinations did not concur in them; whereas the other party was entirely led and governed by two or three, to whom they resigned, implicitly, the conduct of their interest; who advanced, when they saw it seasonable, and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awakened by the progress they had made.

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[1] It is certainly true, that those who promoted all this confusion, whether independents or presbyterians, were rogues alike, though of different kinds, and equally obnoxious to all the established laws then in being.—W.

In the second place, the presbyterians, by whom I mean the Scots, formed all their counsels by the inclinations and affections of the people; and first considered how they might corrupt and seduce, and dispose them to second their purposes; and how far they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolved to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless and wretched clergy; whose infectious breath corrupted and governed the people, and whose authority was prevalent upon their own wives, and in their domestic affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs: whereas, on the other side, Cromwell, and the few others with whom he consulted, first considered what was absolutely necessary to their main and determined end; and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it;

to cozen and deceive men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon motives how foreign soever; and when they would keep company with them no longer, or further serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose; and so the one resolved, only to do what they believed the people would like and approve; and the other, that the people should like and approve what they had resolved. And this difference in the measures they took, was the true cause of so different success in all they undertook. Machiavel, in this, was in the right,[1] though he got an ill name by it with those who take what he says from the report of other men, or do not enough consider themselves what he says, and his method in speaking: (he was as great an enemy to tyranny and injustice in any government, as any man then was, or now is; and says,) "that a man were better be a dog than be subject to those passions and appetites, which possess all unjust, and ambitious, and tyrannical persons;" but he confesses, "that they who are so transported, and have entertained such wicked designs as are void of all conscience, must not think to prosecute them by the rules of conscience, which was laid aside, or subdued, before they entered upon them; they must make no scruple of doing all those impious things which are necessary to compass and support the impiety to which they have devoted themselves;" and therefore he commends Cæsar Borgia for "not being startled with breach of faith, perjuries, and murders, for the removal of those men who he was sure would cross and enervate the whole enterprise he had resolved, and addicted himself to; and blames those usurpers, who had made themselves tyrants, for hoping to support a government by justice, which they had assumed unjustly, and which having wickedly attempted, they manifestly lost by not being wicked enough." The common old adage, "that he who hath drawn his sword against his prince, ought to throw away the scabbard, never to think of sheathing it again," hath never been received in a neighbour climate; but hath been looked upon in the frolic humour of that nation, as a gaiety that manifests a noble spirit, and may conduce to many advantages, and hath been controlled by some wonderful successes in this age, in those parts, which used not to be so favourable to such attempts: yet without doubt the rule will still hold good; and they who enter upon unwarrantable enterprises, must pursue many unwarrantable ways to preserve themselves from the penalty of the first guilt.

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[1] Our historian was the first sober and virtuous writer I know of who has done this fair justice to the character of Machiavel.—W.

Cromwell, though the greatest dissembler living, always made his hypocrisy of singular use and benefit to him;[1] and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent soever it seemed to be, but what was necessary to the design; even his roughness and unpolishedness, which, in the beginning of the parliament, he affected contrary to the smoothness and complacency, which his cousin, and bosom friend, Mr. Hambden, practised towards all men, was necessary; and his first public declaration, in the beginning of the war, to his troop when it was first mustered, "that he would not deceive or cozen them by the perplexed and involved expressions in his commission, to fight for king and parliament;" and therefore told them, "that if the king chanced to be in the body of the enemy that he was to charge, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him, as any other private person; and if their conscience would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to list themselves in his troop, or under his command;" which was generally looked upon as imprudent and malicious, and might, by the professions the parliament then made, have proved dangerous to him; yet served his turn, and severed from others, and united among themselves, all the furious and incensed men against the government, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to look upon him as a man for their turn, upon whom they might depend, as one who would go through his work that he undertook. And his strict and unsociable humour in not keeping company with the other officers of the army in their jollities and excesses, to which most of the superior officers under the earl of Essex were inclined, and by which he often made himself ridiculous or contemptible, drew all those of the like sour or reserved natures to his society and conversation, and gave him opportunity to form their understandings, inclinations, and resolutions, to his own model. By this he grew to have a wonderful interest in the common soldiers, out of which, as his authority increased, he made all his officers, well instructed how to live in the same manner with their soldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own purposes: whilst he looked upon the presbyterian humour as the best incentive to rebellion, no man more a presbyterian; he sung all psalms with them to their tunes,[1] and loved the longest sermons as much as they; but when he discovered that they would prescribe some limits and bounds to their rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would expire as soon as some few particulars were granted to them in religion, which he cared not for; and then that the government must run still in the same channel; it concerned him to make it believed "that the state had been more delinquent than the church, and that the people suffered more by the civil than by the ecclesiastical power; and therefore that the change of one would give them little ease, if there were not as great an alteration in the other, and if the whole government in both were not reformed and altered;" which, though it made him generally odious, and irreconciled many of his old friends to him; yet it made those who remained more cordial and firm: he could better compute his own strength, and upon whom he might depend. This discovery made him contrive the model of the army; which was the most unpopular act, and disobliged all those who first contrived the rebellion, and who were the very soul of it; and yet, if he had not brought that to pass, and changed a general, who, though not very sharpsighted, would never be governed, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another who had no eyes, and so would be willing to be led,[2] all his designs must have come to nothing, and he remained a private colonel of horse, not considerable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous composition.

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[1] This he observes, because, generally speaking, a man got into the habit of *dissembling* neglects to make the best use of his hypocrisy, and is besides unable to make the best use of it, when it is become notorious.---W.

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[1] This may be understood either literally or figuratively. In the figurative sense the expression is very elegant.—W.

[2] A very just character of the two generals.—W.

After all the successes of his new model, he saw his army was balanced by that of the Scots, who took themselves to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to have contributed no less towards the suppression of the king, than that under Fairfax had done ; and after all the victories, and reduction of the king to that lowness, desired still a composition, and to submit again to the subjection of the king: nor was it yet time for him to own or communicate his resolution to the contrary, lest even many of those who wished the extirpation of monarchy, might be startled at the difficulty of the enterprise, and with the power that was like to oppose them. He was therefore first to incense the people against the Scottish nation, " as being a mercenary aid, entertained at a vast charge to the kingdom, that was only to be paid their wages, and to be dismissed, without having the honour to judge with them upon what conditions the king should be received, and restored ; the accomplishing whereof ought to be the peculiar glory of the parliament without a rival, and that the king might owe the benefit wholly to them." And this was as popular an argument as he could embark himself in, the whole kingdom in general having a great detestation of the Scots; and they who most desired the king's restoration wished that he might have as little obligation to them as was possible, and that they might have as little credit afterwards with him. With this universal applause, he compelled the Scottish army to depart the kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever after render them odious and infamous. There now seemed nothing more dangerous and destructive to the power and interest of the English army, in so general a discontent throughout the kingdom, than a division, and mutiny within itself; that the common soldiers should erect an authority distinct from their officers, by which they would choose to govern against their superior commanders, at least without them, and to fancy that they had an interest of their own severed from theirs, for the preservation whereof they were to trust none but themselves; which had never been heard of before in any army, and was looked upon as a presage of the ruin of the whole, and of those who had adhered to them; and yet, if he had not raised this seditious spirit in the army, he could not have prevented the disbanding some part of it, and sending another part of it into Ireland, before the Scots left Newcastle; nor have been able to have taken the king from Holmby into the hands of the army, after the Scots were gone. And after all his hypocrisy towards the king and his party,[1] by which he prevented many inconveniences which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again so unreproachfully, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving other cause to the king to suspect the safety of his person, and thereupon to make his escape from the army; by which his majesty quickly became a prisoner, and so was deprived of any resort, from whence many mischiefs might have proceeded to have disturbed his counsels. How constantly he pursued this method in his subsequent actions, will be observed in its place.

Contrary to this the presbyterian Scots proceeded, in all their actions after their first invasion in the year 1640, and always interwove some conditions in their counsels and transactions, which did not only prove, but, in the instant, might have been discerned to be, diametrically opposite to their public interest, and to their particular designs. It is very true, that their first invasion, saving their breach of allegiance, might have some excuse from their interest. They were a poor people, and though many particular men of that nation had received great bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the court of England by king James and the present king, yet those particular men, who had been and then were in the court, were, for the most part, persons of no interest in Scotland; nor was that kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they found themselves exposed to some late pressures, which were new to them, and which their preachers told them "were against conscience, and an invasion of their religion;"[2] from which they had vindicated themselves so rudely and unwarrantably,[3] that they might well expect to be called to an account hereafter, if those persons, whom they had most provoked, retained their interest still with the king, and in his councils; from whom they were promised to be secured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into England with an army, give their friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and so to procure relief and security for both kingdoms. In this enterprise, the success crowned their work;[1] they were thought a wise and a resolute nation; and after an unbloody war of above a year, they returned into their country laden with spoils and great riches; and were liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into England. But from their return from this expedition, their whole true interest consisted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the king, and vindicating his honour and interest from all assaults; and their being suborned afterwards (when the king was in a hopeful way to have reduced his rebels to their obedience, by the strength and power of his arms) to make a second invasion of the kingdom,[2] was a weak and childish engagement, directly opposite to their interest, except they had at the same time a resolution to have changed their own government, and for ever to have renounced subjection to monarchy, (which was never in their purpose to do,) or to withdraw it from the present king. When his majesty had trusted them so far (which they had never reason to expect) as to put his royal person into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themselves in the eyes of the world, and to undo some part of the mischief they had done, it was their interest to have joined cordially with him, and firmly to have united themselves to his party in vindication of the law, and the government established; and if they had not had the courage at that time to have looked the English army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their interest to have retired with the king in the head of their army into Scotland; and, leaving good garrisons in Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle, all which were in their possession, to have expected a revolution in England from the divisions amongst themselves, and from some conjunction with a strong body of the king's English party, which would quickly have found themselves together; and the delivery of the king up, besides the infamy of it, was, in view, destructive to all that could be thought their interest.

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[1] Of all Cromwell's acts of hypocrisy, this here mentioned to the king is the most questionable. The king was as insincere with him as he could be with the king.---W.

[2] The forcing episcopacy upon them.---W.

[3] The first invasion of England.---W.

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[1] The second invasion.---W.

[2] This which he calls the *second* was indeed the *third*.---W.

After all this, when they found themselves cozened and deceived in all the measures they had taken, and laughed at and despised by those who had deceived them, to have a new opportunity to serve the king, and then to insist upon such conditions as must make it impossible for them to serve him effectually, was such a degree of sottishness, and a depraved understanding, that they can never be looked upon as men who knew what their interest was, or what was necessary to advance their own designs. And yet we shall be obliged to observe how incorrigibly they adhered to this obstinate and froward method, in all the transactions they afterwards had with the king; all which turned, as it could not but do, to their own ruin, and the destruction of that idol they adored, and paid their devotion to. But it is time to return to our discourse, from whence this tedious digression hath misled us.

All designs and negociations, abroad and at home, being in this state and condition, the king remained under a strict and disconsolate imprisonment, no man being suffered to speak with him, and all diligence used to intercept all letters which might pass to or from him; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some inhabitants of the island, to receive important advertisements from his friends; and to write to and receive letters from the queen; and so he informed her of the Scottish transaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and seemed to take much pleasure; and looked upon it as a good omen, that in that desperate lowness of his fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but men of the most barbarous and inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and man, his majesty's gracious disposition and generous affability still wrought upon some soldier,

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[1] Presbytery.---W.

or other person placed about him, to undertake and perform some offices of trust, in conveying papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had natural duty; or some desperate men had so much craft, and forecast, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither looked for, nor desired. For many, who did undertake to perform those offices, did not make good all they promised; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.[1]

In the parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the public; but in all those transactions which concerned particular persons, with reference to rewards, preferments, or matter of profit, men were considered according to the party they were of; every day those received benefit who had appeared most to adhere to the army; the notorious presbyterians were removed from all places of profit and authority, which vexed them, and well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the pulpit-skirmishes were higher than ever; the presbyterians, in those fields, losing nothing of their courage, having a notorious power in the city, notwithstanding the emulation of the independents, who were more learned and rational:[2] who, though they had not so great congregations of the common people, yet infected, and were followed by, the most substantial and wealthy citizens, and by others of better condition. To these men Cromwell and most of the officers of the army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the divinity of the time was not to be judged by the preaching, and congregations in churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for devotion and religious assemblies, where the bishops had exercised such illimited tyranny, and which had been polluted by their original consecrations. Liberty of conscience was now become the great charter;[1] and men who were *inspired*, preached and prayed when and where they would. Cromwell himself was the greatest preacher; and most of the officers of the army, and many common soldiers, showed their *gifts* that way. Anabaptists and quakers grew very numerous, with whom the independents concurred so far as to join with them for the utter abolishing of tithes, as of Judaical institution; which was now the patrimony of the presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one party, and defended by the other, with equal passion and animosity. And if any man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of confusion, as at this time had spread itself over the face of the whole kingdom.

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[1] It appears from the letters between Cromwell and Hammond, which passed during the king's close confinement in Carisbrook-castle, lately published, that his majesty was perpetually betrayed by those in whom he then put a confidence to carry on the correspondence between him and his friends to facilitate his escape.---W.

[2] They certainly were so. Such as Goodwin, Owen, &c.—W.

During all this time, the prince remained at Paris under the government of his mother, exercised with that strictness, that though his highness was above the age of eighteen years, he never put on his hat before the queen; nor was it desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the royal family was in. The assignation which was made by the court of France for the better support of the prince, was annexed to the monthly allowance given to the queen, and received by her, and distributed as she thought fit; such clothes and other necessaries provided for his highness as were thought necessary; her majesty desiring to have it thought that the prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the prince of Wales to be a pensioner to the king of France. Hereby none of his highness's servants[2] had any pretence to ask money, but they were to be contented with what should be allowed to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the prince himself ever master of ten pistoles to dispose as he desired. The lord Jermyn was the queen's chief officer, and governed all her receipts, and he loved plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffered, who had been more acquainted with it. All who had any relation to the prince, were to implore his aid; and the prince himself could obtain nothing but by him; which made most persons of honour of the English nation who were driven into banishment, as many of the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom then were, choose to make their residence in any other place, as Caen, Rouen, and the like, than in Paris, where the prince was, and could do so little: nor was this economy well liked even in France, nor the prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had lived more like himself, and appeared more concerned in his own business.

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[1] It appears from hence how well the noble author understood what Dr. Jer. Taylor at that time so well taught.—W.

[2] Who wrote the memoirs of his own time, not long since published, acknowledges, that he was very certain that the queen had a child by Jermyn.—W.

When the marquis of Ormond came thither, he was received very graciously by the queen, and consulted with in all things, being the person most depended upon to begin to give a turn to their fortune, recommended to them by the king, and of the most universal reputation of any subject the king had. He pressed a speedy despatch, that he might pursue his designs in Ireland; where he longed to be, whilst the affairs of that kingdom were no more taken to heart by the parliament, who had yet sent no supplies thither. He informed the queen, and the lord Jermyn, of the necessity of hastening that work, which they understood well enough by the Irish commissioners; who had been there, and had been sent back with a million of promises, a coin that court always abounded with, and made most of its payments in.

When the queen, who was as zealous for the despatch as was possible, pressed the queen regent, and the cardinal, upon it, she received all the satisfaction imaginable, and assurance that all things should be speedily provided; and when the marquis spoke first with the cardinal upon the subject, he found him well disposed; making such ample promises for a very good sum of money, and such a proportion of arms and ammunition, as could be wished. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his embarkation, that those provisions might be sent thither to meet him; and that he should be ready to transport himself within a very short time; of which he gave notice to those who expected him in Ireland, and prepared all his own accommodations accordingly. But he was very much disappointed in his expectation; the cardinal was not so confident of the recovery of the king's affairs as to disoblige the parliament by contributing towards it: so that after many months' attendance, the winter, which was the season to be made use of, was over, and the marquis as far from knowing when he should go, as he was when he came thither.

Having now, contrary to the order formerly observed by me, crowded in all the particular passages and important transactions of two whole years into this book, that I might not interrupt or discontinue the relation of the mysterious proceedings of the army, their great hypocrisy, and dissimulation, practised towards the king and his party, and then their pulling off their mask, and appearing in their natural dress of inhumanity and savageness, with the vile artifices of the Scottish commissioners to draw the king into their hands, and then their low and base compliance, and gross folly, in delivering him up, and lastly their absurd and merchandly trafficking with him for the price of returning to their allegiance, when there was no other way of preserving themselves, and their nation from being destroyed, the many woful tragedies of the next year, which filled the world with amazement and horror, must be the subject of the discourse in the next book.

THE HISTORY

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XI.

The temper of the nation at this time—The affairs of Ireland during the lord Lisle's being there—Waller nominated general there, but opposed by Cromwell; who proposed Lambert—The earl of Holland prepares to rise with the duke of Bucks and others—The Scots preparations for an expedition into England—The characters of Lanrick and Lautherdale—The parliament met in Scotland; and their deliberations—Sir M. Langdale and sir P. Musgrave and others, treated with by the Scots, and invited into Scotland; whither they went—Commissioners sent from the two houses into Scotland—The escape of the duke of York beyond sea from St. James's—Sir John Berkley made his highness's governor in the absence of the lord Byron—The chancellor of the exchequer sent for to the prince from Jersey—The prince went into Holland from Calais—The revolt of part of the fleet to the king from Rainsborough—Commotions in Kent for the king—Rainsborough and some other officers put on shore by the seamen—The revolted ships went over to Holland—The marquis of Ormond goes out of France into Ireland—The prince is received at the fleet—Factions in the prince's fleet—The prince comes into the Downs with the fleet—Thence into the river of Thames—Sir M. Langdale surprises Berwick, and sir P. Musgrave Carlisle soon after—Lambert marches against them—The earl of Norwich at Maidstone with the Kentish forces—The Kentish army marches towards Blackheath—Cromwell advances against the Scots: Fairfax against the Kentish men—The earl of Norwich, and some forces, transport themselves into Essex, and fix in Colchester—Fairfax besieges them—Factions in the prince's fleet—It enters the river of Thames; takes several ships—Commissioners sent to the prince from the city with a petition—The prince writes to the city—The parliament prepares a fleet against the revolted fleet, under command of the earl of Warwick—The prince writes to the earl of Warwick —His answer—The prince went to sea towards Holland, after having attempted to fight the earl of Warwick—The earl of Warwick follows him towards Holland—Duke Hamilton enters England about the middle of July—The duke's march—Sir M. Langdale a day before him—Sir M. Langdale gives him an account of the English army—Sir M. Langdale fights, and is beaten; and duke Hamilton routed—The duke taken—Sir M. Langdale taken—The prince comes to the Hague—Divisions among the prince of Wales's court—The letter of the parliament of Scotland to the prince—Deliberation in the prince's council about it—The earl of Lautherdale returns into Scotland—Sir Th. Tildesly retires to Monroe—Monroe having entered England, upon Hamilton's defeat retreats towards Scotland: sir Philip Musgrave to Carlisle—Berwick and Carlisle delivered to the parliament—Cromwell marches into Scotland—Is received at Edinburgh—The committee of the Scottish parliament order Monroe to disband—Cromwell returns for England—The Scottish parliament being called, condemn duke Hamilton's engagement—The earl of Holland rises; goes to Kingston—Is routed there: escapes to St. Neots, where he is taken—Colchester delivered—Sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle shot to death—Their characters—The behaviour of the city at this time—They petition for a personal treaty—A committee of parliament treats with them about it—The parliament declares for a personal treaty—A committee of both houses sent to the king for that purpose in the beginning of August—The substance of their message to the king—The king's answer—The vote of no more addresses repealed; and the treaty to be at Newport—An account of the taking of Pontefract castle for the king—Part of the garrison's attempt upon Rainsborough—Pontefract delivered up to Lambert—The condition of the prince and the duke of York at the Hague, and the factions among their followers—The ill condition of the prince's fleet in Holland—The earl of Warwick with his fleet comes upon the coast of Holland—The prince of Wales has the small pox—The affairs of the marquis of Ormond and the lord Inchiquin in Ireland—An account of the affairs of the Irish about this time—The characters of Preston and O'Neile, their chief generals—The pope's nuncio commands the Irish—The marquis of Ormond arrives at Kinsale, and the pope's nuncio leaves Ireland—Prince Rupert undertakes the command of the prince's fleet—Sets sail for Ireland in December—The commissioners arrive in the Isle of Wight, Sept. 15—The first proposition for revoking all his majesty's declarations, &c.—His majesty's answer to it—Dispute concerning the preamble of it—The king consents to it—The second proposition concerning religion and the church—The king offers a proposition of his own; which the commissioners refuse to send to the houses—The king sends it by messengers of his own; but it is voted unsatisfactory—Their ministers dispute with the king about the bishops—The king's concessions on this point—The third proposition concerning the militia—The king's answer—This voted by the parliament unsatisfactory—The king consents to it with a preamble—At last consents to it without the preamble—The fourth proposition concerning Ireland—Some other particulars the king at first sticks at: but consents at last——The commissioners now send the king's own proposition to the parliament—They require a declaration of the king against the marquis of Ormond—His majesty's answer—The parliament enlarges the treaty fourteen days longer—The commissioners renew their demand about Ormond—His majesty's answer—They urge further about the church—The king's answer—The parliament's votes upon the king's former proposition—Another prolongation of the treaty till Nov. 25—The declaration of the army—The commissioners' new propositions against delinquents since Jan. 1648, and others, especially the marquis of Ormond—The king's answer—Another prolongation of the treaty for a day, wherein they present two propositions more—One concerning Scotland—To that the king's answer—The other touching the church—The king's final answer—The sum of the king's letter to his son concerning the whole treaty—The conclusion of that letter in the king's own words—An attempt for the king's escape—Osborne accuses Rolph for a design upon the king's life—The commissioners' report of the treaty to the parliament—A long and sharp debate upon it—Sir Harry Vane's speech concerning it—The large remonstrance of the army brought to the house by six officers—The king taken from Carisbrook castle, and carried to Hurst castle—Vote of the house of commons thereupon—Another declaration of the army sent to the house—The general marches for London—Vote "that the king's answer was a ground for peace"—Many of the members entering into the house seized upon by the soldiers—The remaining members vote the contrary to former votes—Vote "that those who were absent at the negative vote should sit no more in the house"—Vote of no more addresses renewed—The protestation of the secluded members—Voted against by both houses—Votes of the house of commons—A committee appointed by them to prepare a charge against the king—The prince of Wales desires the States to intercede with the two houses—Their answer—They send an ambassador into England—The queen sent a paper to be delivered to the parliament; but it was laid aside—The charge against the king approved by the commons—Rejected by the lords; who adjourned for a week—The door of their house locked up against the day to which they had adjourned---The commons constitute a high court of justice---Bradshaw made lord president---Lawyers and other officers appointed---The king sent for from Hurst castle by Harrison---The character of Harrison---The king dines at the lord Newburgh's; where was an intention of making the king's escape, but in vain---The king brought to St. James's---The several consultations, before and after this time, among the officers, what to do with the king: concluded to have him publicly tried---The prince sends a letter to Fairfax and the council of war: which was read in the council of war, and laid aside---The usage of the king at St. James's ---He is brought to Westminster-hall, Jan. 20---The sum of his charge ---What passed the first day of his trial---Disturbance in the court by the lady Fairfax, the general's wife---Sir H. Mildmay and sir John Danvers the only two persons the king knew besides the officers of the army---A summary passing over the rest of the king's trial---His character---His justice and mercy---His devotion and religion---His conjugal chastity---He was not very bountiful---He kept state in his court---Patient in hearing causes---Fearless, not enterprising---Not confident in his own judgment---Lover of the Scottish nation---Abhorred debauchery---Beloved by his subjects in general when he was murdered---The sum of his character---His funeral---Proclamation against proclaiming Charles Stuart king---The commons abolish the house of peers---Vote against the office of kingship---They make a new great seal---Six of their own judges give up---How some neighbouring princes took the king's murder---An oath imposed, called the engagement---A new high court of justice sits: and several trials before them---Duke Hamilton first tried---Then the earl of Holland ---The earl of Norwich---The lord Capel---Sir John Owen---All five condemned---Duke Hamilton beheaded March 9---The earl of Holland the same day---The lord Capel---The lord Capel's character--- The conclusion and character of the year 1648. O. S.

IF a universal discontent and murmuring of the three nations, and almost as general a detestation both of parliament and army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the king to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed government they had deprived themselves of,[1] could have contributed to his majesty's recovery, never people were better disposed to erect and repair again the building they had so maliciously thrown and pulled down. In England there was a general discontent amongst all sorts of men; many officers and soldiers who had served the parliament from the beginning of the war, and given too great testimonies of their courage and fidelity, and had been disbanded upon the new model, looked upon the present army with contempt, as those who reaped the harvest and reward of their labours, and spake of them and against them in all places accordingly: the nobility and gentry who had advanced the credit and reputation of the parliament by concurring with it against the king, found themselves totally neglected, and the most inferior people preferred to all places of trust and profit: the presbyterian ministers talked very loud; their party appeared to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from Scoltand, and the importunity and clamour from Ireland, for supplies of men and money against the Irish, who grew powerful, raised the courage of all discontented persons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh against the army, and the officers who had corrupted it. The parliament bore no reproach so concernedly, as that of "the want of supplies to Ireland, and that, having so great an army without an enemy, they would not spare any part of it to preserve that kingdom." This argument made a new warmth in the house of commons, they who had been silent, and given over insisting upon the insolence and presumption of the army, which had prevailed, and crushed them, took now new spirit, and pressed the relief of Ireland with great earnestness, and in order thereunto made great inquisition into the expenses of the money, and how such vast sums received had been disbursed; which was a large field, and led them to many men's doors upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

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[1] He must mean the monarchy in the enjoyment of its legal rights. For as to the administration of it under Charles I. the noble author hath himself, in the beginning of this History, fairly and honestly shewn, that if ever there was a tyranny exercised by a limited monarchy, it was exercised by Charles.—W.

There was a design this way to get the presbyterians again into power, and that they might get the command of an army for the subduing the rebels in Ireland. Cromwell had, for the quieting the clamours from thence, got the lord Lisle, eldest son to the earl of Leicester, sent under the title of lord lieutenant of that kingdom thither, with a commission for five or six months. He had landed in Munster, either out of the jealousy they had of the lord Inchiquin, or because the best part of their army of English were under his command in that province. But that expedition gave the English no relief, nor weakened the power or strength of the Irish, but rather increased their reputation by the faction and bitterness that was between the lieutenant and the president, who writ letters of complaint one against the other to the parliament, where they had both their parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his commission being expired, and the contrary party not suffering it to be renewed, the lord Lisle returned again into England, leaving the lord Inchiquin, whom he meant to have destroyed, in the entire possession of the command, and in greater reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preserved both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the arrival of the marquis of Ormond, and every day informing the parliament of the ill condition he was in, and pressing for a supply of men and money, when he knew they would send neither.

Upon the return of the lord Lisle the presbyterians renewed their design, and caused sir William Waller to be named for deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his service) because he could quickly draw together those officers and soldiers which had served under him, and were now disbanded, and would willingly again engage under their old general. At the first, Cromwell did not oppose this motion, but consented to it, being very willing to be rid both of Waller, and all the officers who were willing to go with him, who he knew were not his friends, and watched an opportunity to be even with him. But when he saw Waller insist upon great supplies to carry with him, as he had reason to do, and when he considered of what consequence it might be to him and all his designs, if a well formed and disciplined army should be under the power of Waller, and such officers, he changed his mind; and first set his instruments to cross such a supply of men and money, as he had proposed; "the one, as more than necessary for the service; and the other, as more than they could spare from their other occasions:" and when this check was put to Waller's engagement, he caused Lambert to be proposed for that expedition, a man who was then fast to the same interest he embraced, and who had gotten a great name in the army. He formalized so long upon this, that Ireland remained still unsupplied, and their affairs there seemed to be in a very ill condition.

The Scots made so much noise of their purposes, even before their commissioners left London, and gave such constant advertisements of the impatience of their countrymen to be in arms for the king, though they made no haste in providing for such an expedition, that both the presbyterians, who were their chief correspondents, and the royal party, bethought themselves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themselves from their former guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the king from his imprisonment, but be able to preserve him in liberty from any presbyterian impositions, which they still apprehended the Scots might endeavour to impose, though they had no suspicion of the engagement at the Isle of Wight.

The earl of Holland, who had done twice very notoriously amiss, and had been, since his return from Oxford, notably despised by all persons of credit in the parliament and the army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a new and thorough engagement. He had much credit by descent and by alliance with the presbyterian party, and was privy to the undertakings of Scotland, and had constant intelligence of the advance that was made there. His brother, the earl of Warwick, had undergone some mortification with the rest, and had not that authority in the naval affairs as he had used to have, though he was the high admiral of England by ordinance of parliament, and had done them extraordinary services. He did not restrain or endeavour to suppress the earl of Holland's discontents, but inflamed them, and promised to join with him, as many others of that gang of men did; resolving that the Scots should not do all that work, but that they would have a share in the merit. The duke of Buckingham, and his brother, the lord Francis Villiers, were newly returned from travel, and though both under years, were strong and active young men, and being, in respect of their infancy, unengaged in the late war, and so unhurt by it, and coming now to the possession of large estates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the crown upon the first opportunity, they fell easily into the friendship of the earl of Holland, and were ready to embark themselves in his adventure. The earl had made tender of his resolutions to his old mistress the queen at Paris, who was always disposed to trust him, and the lord Jermyn and he renewed their former friendship, the warmth whereof had never been extinguished.

And a commission was sent from the prince to the earl to be general of an army, that was to be raised for the redemption of the king from prison, and to restore the parliament to its freedom. The earl of Peterborough, and John Mordaunt his brother, the family of the earl of Northampton, and all the officers who had served the king in the war, with which the city of London and all parts of the kingdom abounded, applied themselves to the earl of Holland, and received commissions from him for several commands.

This engagement was so well known, and so generally spoken of, that they concluded that the parliament durst not take notice of it, or wished well to it. And there is no question, never undertaking of such a nature was carried on with so little reservation; there was scarce a county in England, in which there was not some association entered into to appear in arms for the king. They who had the principal command in Wales under the parliament, sent to Paris to declare, "that, if they might have supply of arms and ammunition, and a reasonable sum of money for the payment of their garrisons, they would declare for the king, having the chief places of those parts in their custody." The lord Jermyn encouraged all those overtures with most positive undertaking, that they should be supplied with all they expected, within so many days after they should declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his custom, never thought of after; by which the service miscarried, and many gallant men were lost.

Cromwell, to whom all these machinations were known, chose rather to run the hazard of all that such a loose combination could produce, than, by seizing upon persons, to engage the parliament in examinations, and in parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the presbyterian party had so great an influence upon the general, that he declared to him, "he would not march against the Scots," whom he had a good mind to have visited before their counsels and resolutions were formed; and

Cromwell had reason to believe, that Fairfax would be firm to the same mind, even after they should have invaded the kingdom.

All things being in this forwardness in England, it is fit to inquire how the Scots complied with their obligations, and what expedition they used in raising their army. After the commissioners' return from London, upon the king's being made prisoner in the Isle of Wight, it was long before the marquis of Argyle could be prevailed with to consent that a parliament should be called. He had made a fast friendship with Cromwell and Vane; and knew that in this new stipulation with the king, the Hamiltonian faction was the great undertaker, and meant to have all the honour of whatsoever should follow. And yet the duke lived very privately at his own house, had never seen the king, nor went abroad to any meeting after his return to Scotland; and to those who came to him, and to whom that resolution would be grateful, he used to speak darkly, and as a man that thought more of revenge upon those who had imprisoned him, than of assisting the crown to recover the authority it had lost. Argyle, whose power was over that violent party of the clergy which would not depart from the most rigid clause in the covenant, and were without any reverence for the king or the monarchical government, discerned that he should never be able to hinder the calling of a parliament, which the people generally called for, and that he should sooner obtain his end by puzzling their proceedings, and obstructing their determinations, after they should be assembled, than by obstinately opposing their coming together. So summons were issued for the convention of a parliament; and they who appeared most concerned for the king, and to set him at liberty from his imprisonment, (which was all they pretended,) were the earl of Lanrick, brother to duke Hamilton, and then restored to his office of secretary of Scotland, who had been imprisoned at Oxford, and made his escape from thence; and the earl of Lautherdale, who had been with the forwardest from the beginning of the rebellion, when he was scarce of age, and prosecuted it to the end with most eminent fierceness and animosity.

They were both men of great parts and industry, though they loved pleasures too; both proud and ambitious; the former, much the civiller and better bred, of the better nature, and better judgment, and an openness and clearness more to be trusted and relied upon than most men of that nation: the latter, insolent, imperious, flattering, and dissembling, fitter for intrigues and contrivances by the want of the ingenuity which the other had, and by the experience and practice he had in the committee of both kingdoms in their darkest designs. The former was a man of honour and courage; the latter had courage enough not to fail where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of honour to restrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions.

These two were the chief managers and contrivers to carry on this affair;[1] for though the chancellor, the earl of Lowden, had been a commissioner in England, and as privy to the treaty with the king, and had made as many professions and protestations of duty to him as they, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was so obnoxious for his loose and vicious life, which was notorious, that he durst not provoke Argyle or the clergy by dissenting from them. They used all the interest and skill they had, to get such elections in the boroughs of members for the parliament as might comply with them; and the people generally were exceedingly offended, and ashamed of the infamous delivery up of the king to the English, to which they imputed all the danger that threatened them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their country; and so had great prejudice to all men who were thought to be the cause of it.

At the opening of the parliament, they did all they could to inflame the people against the army in England; which, they said, "had forced the parliament there to break the treaty between the two kingdoms in their ill usage of the king, who was imprisoned by the army, nor was it in the power of the parliament to set him at liberty: that they had now, upon the matter, absolutely deposed him, by not suffering him to perform the office of a king, nor permitting any of his subjects to repair to him; in which the kingdom of Scotland was concerned, in that being independent upon England, and the parliament of England, they were by them deprived of their king, and could not be admitted to speak with him, nor his majesty to send to them; which was such a presumption, and violation of the law of nations, and such a perfidious breach and contempt of the solemn league and covenant, and of the treaty between the two kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations human and divine to be sensible of it, and to redeem their king's liberty, and their own honour, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes and all that was dear to them: and therefore they desired that they might enter upon those counsels, which might soonest get an army together, which should no sooner enter England, but it would find a conjunction from that whole kingdom, except only the army; and that it would then quickly appear that the parliaments of both kingdoms desired the same thing, and to live happily under the government of the same king."

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[1] This character of Lauderdale agrees exactly with that which Burnet gives of him, who knew him well; and with his infamous administration in Scotland, when Charles II. employed him to introduce arbitrary power there.---W.

This discourse, urged and seconded by many of the principal men, was entertained by the rest with so general a reception, that Argyle found it would be to no purpose directly to contradict or oppose it. He saw the election of the knights and burgesses had succeeded according to their wishes, and that they would concur with whatsoever was proposed; and he found likewise that they had wrought upon the greatest part of their clergy; who believed all they said to them. He did not therefore oppose any thing proposed by them, but only desired, " that they would very well weigh the manner of their proceeding in an affair of so great concernment, which was like to terminate in a bloody war between the two kingdoms; which had hitherto proceeded as brethren, and had both reaped great benefit and advantage from the conjunction: and he hoped there was no purpose to shake any of those foundations which had been laid in the years by-gone, which supported that government, and made that kingdom happy; which if dissolved, all the mischief and tyranny they had formerly felt and undergone, would break in upon them with a torrent that should destroy them."

Every body declared, " that there was no purpose to swerve, in the least degree, from what was established for the government in either kingdom, by their solemn league and covenant, which they had in perfect veneration, and looked upon it as an obligation upon them to do all that had been proposed ;" upon which Argyle acquiesced as satisfied, not doubting but that, in the prosecution of their counsels, he should find opportunity enough to obstruct the quick progress, and to interrupt the conclusion, and execution.

The lords who had been in England, and frequented Hampton Court, whilst the king was there, to make themselves the more gracious, had treated all the king's party with all manner of caresses, and more particularly had much applied themselves to those gentlemen of the north who had most eminently served the king, and who had good fortunes there to support their interest. Of this kind there were two very notable men, sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Philip Musgrave ; both men of large and plentiful estates, the one in Yorkshire, the other in Cumberland and Westmoreland ; who having been in the time of peace eminent in their country in the offices of justices of peace, and deputy lieutenants, had, in the beginning of the war, engaged themselves in commands in the king's army with great reputation of stout, diligent, and active officers ; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themselves to make any composition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their swords in their hands. They were both looked upon by the parliament, and the chief officers of the army, with most jealousy, as men worthy to be apprehended, and who could never be induced to comply with them. The Scottish lords had not been scrupulous to let these two gentlemen know what they intended, and " that they made no question but they should engage their whole kingdom and nation to enter into a present war with England on the king's behalf; and therefore desired them, by the interest and influence they had upon the northern counties, to dispose them to a conjunction with them." And because they knew that they two were too notorious to stay with any security about London, much less in their own country, they invited them into Scotland, where they assured them, " they should not only be safe, but very welcome; and should be witnesses of their proceedings, and have parts of their own to act in, as soon as the season should be ripe."

These gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and, whilst the army made those professions towards the king, had been much courted by the chief officers thereof, and had been quartered with them as friends, knew well, now the mask was off, that if they did not immediately apply themselves to make their compositions, they should be apprehended, and imprisoned. And therefore, being confident that the Scots would engage for the king, they accepted their invitation, and told them, "they should quickly find them in Scotland after their own return." Accordingly, after having secretly spent some time in their own counties, and directed their friends to be in a readiness when they should be called upon, and in the mean time settled a way how to correspond together, they went into Scotland to those who had invited them, and were received by them with civility enough. They owned such a wariness, in respect of the jealousies amongst themselves, and the ill arts of Argyle, that they desired them "for some time to withdraw to some place," (which they recommended to them,) "and there to remain in secret, and under feigned names, until the calling of the parliament; at which time they might come to Edinburgh, and appear in their own likeness with all freedom." So after having remained in that private manner, where they were well treated for some months, when the parliament was assembled at Edinburgh, they returned thither; and were very well looked upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themselves with the more freedom and confidence in their conversation, the forementioned lords telling them all they meant to do, and what arts they were to use till they could get their army up, towards which they believed they had mastered the greatest difficulties.

Though the Scottish commissioners had withdrawn from London, shortly after they had protested loudly against the proceedings of the parliament, both in imprisoning the king, and in refusing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the government of that kingdom, and thought it high time to provide for their own security by quitting their station at London, where they received every day affronts, and their persons were exposed to contempt; yet there were no sooner preparations towards a parliament in Scotland, than commissioners were sent from the lords and commons at Westminster to reside at Edinburgh, as if they hoped to overvote them there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not without a strong or at least an active party there. They were received with the same show of respect, and the same care was taken for their accommodation, as had been when they first came for contriving of the covenant; not only the marquis of Argyle, and his party, very diligently visited them, and performed all offices of respect towards them, but even the Hamiltonian faction, and they who were most solicitous to raise the war, attended them as officiously as others, and made the same professions to preserve the peace and amity between the two nations.

That rigid party of the clergy which so adored the covenant in the strictest sense of the letter, that they did not desire to have any more dependence upon the king, but to lay him aside, and to settle the government without him, as their brethren in England had resolved to do, were never from them, and willingly received such presents and pensions from the English commissioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much money was given to make them fast friends. By this means nothing was resolved, or proposed in the most secret councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they behaved themselves as haughtily and imperiously, as if they had their army at hand to second them. They took notice of the resort of so many to Edinburgh, and that there were many amongst them who had been in arms against the parliament, and demanded, "that they might either be banished that kingdom, or delivered to them to be sent to the parliament."

They were so clamorous in this argument, and found so much countenance to their clamour, that they who had invited the English thither, had not the courage to own them; but advised them underhand, "to absent themselves from the town, till that storm should be over." And even sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Philip Musgrave, whom, over and above all the discourses held with them at London, the Scottish lords had sent to confer with as they passed through the northern parts homewards, and had then conferred with them, and desired them "to prepare all things with their friends for the surprisal of Berwick and Carlisle, when the season should be ripe; and that they would hasten their journey into Scotland, that they might be out of danger of imprisonment;" even these men were desired, "either to withdraw again from Edinburgh, or to keep their chambers there, and not to be seen abroad, until their army should be raised, and such a general made choice of as would take care of their protection." And they did not conceal from them, that they made no doubt but that duke Hamilton should be that general; who often conferred with them in private, and always assured them, "that whatever was, in that place and season, discoursed of the covenant, which was very necessary to bring their designs to pass, he should be no sooner invested in the command his friends designed for him, than he would manifest his resolution to join with the king's party, upon the true interest of the crown, without which he could hope for little success in England:" and he desired them, "though they saw little appearance yet of raising an army, which would be as soon finished as begun, by the method they were accustomed to use, that they would write very earnestly to their friends in England to begin, as soon as might be, to execute the designs they had laid, in as many parts of the kingdom as they could, upon confidence that they should receive relief before they could be oppressed." To the same purpose they writ to the queen, and desired "that the prince might be in a readiness to be with them against the time their army should be ready to march; which, they assured her, should be by the beginning of May." All which several advertisements, being communicated in England, found a people too ready to give credit to what was promised, and to begin the work sooner than they ought to have done; and yet they were hastened by such accidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even necessary.

The king, whilst he was at Hampton Court, when he foresaw that the army would not comply with him, as he once believed, and resolved to get himself out of their hands, had, as is mentioned before, directed the duke of York, who was of years to be trusted with the secret, "that, when a fit opportunity should be offered, he should make his escape into the parts beyond the seas, and follow the directions of his mother:" and about this time, when so much action was expected, which probably might produce many alterations, his majesty, in all places, found some way to advertise the duke, "that it would be a very proper season for him to make his escape." The person who was intrusted to contrive it was colonel Bamfield, a man of an active and insinuating nature, and dexterous enough in bringing any thing to pass that he had the managing of himself. He had now no relation to the king's service; he had served the king in the late war as a colonel of foot, and had not behaved himself so well in it, as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the other party, and was in truth much more conversant with the presbyterian party than with the king's. So that his repair often to the place where the duke of York and the other children were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

The duke and his brother and sister were then kept at St. James's, where they had the liberty of the garden and park to walk and exercise themselves in, and lords, and ladies, and other persons of condition, were not restrained from resorting thither to visit them. In this manner Bamfield had been sometimes there; and after he had informed the duke what he was to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between them, that he might not become suspected by being observed to speak too often with him, he provided a small vessel to be ready about the custom-house, and to have its pass for Holland, and then advertised the duke to be ready in the close of an evening, when playing, as he used to do, with the other children, in a room from whence there was a pair of stairs to the garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither; from whence there was a door into the park; where Bamfield would meet him. And this was so well adjusted, that the duke came at the hour to the place; where the other met him, and led him presently where a coach was ready, and so carried him into a private house; where he only stayed whilst he put on women's apparel, that was provided for him ; and presently, with colonel Bamfield only, went into a pair of oars that was ready ; so he passed the bridge, and went on board the vessel that was ready to receive him ; which immediately hoisted sail, and arrived safe in Holland, without any man of the ship having the least imagination what freight they carried.

The duke, as soon as he was on shore, and in a lodging, resolving no longer to use his woman's habit, stayed there till he advertised his sister, the princess royal of Orange, of his arrival ; who quickly took care to provide all such things as were necessary for his remove to the Hague ; from whence the queen was informed, and so knew as soon almost where he was, as she did of his escape from London. The prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it resolved which way he should go ; so that it was thought best that the duke should, for the present, stay at the Hague with his sister, till further resolutions might be taken ; and though the service which Bamfield had performed was very well esteemed, yet they thought the making him a groom of his bedchamber would be an ample recompense, and that it was necessary to put a person of a better quality about his highness, who might have a superior command over the other servants ; and because the lord Byron, who had been made governor of the duke of York by the king, was then in England, secretly attending the conjuncture to appear in arms in a quarter assigned to him, sir John Berkley was sent by the queen to wait upon the duke, as governor in the absence of the lord Byron, which Bamfield looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the man he hated of all men living, to have the command over him.

The lord Capel, who was in the most secret part of all these intrigues in England, being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the presbyterians, nor communicate their purposes to them, had written to the chancellor of the exchequer, who remained still in Jersey, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own resolution to embark himself in that attempt, as soon as it should be ripe ; and had signified the king's command to him, "that as soon as the chancellor should be required to wait upon the prince, he should without delay obey the summons :" and the king had likewise writ to the queen very positively, "that when it should be necessary for the prince to remove out of France, the chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to give his attendance upon the person of his royal highness, in the condition he had formerly done, not without some blaming the queen for entertaining any prejudice against him." About the beginning of May, in the year 1648, the lord Capel, who had always corresponded with the chancellor, and informed him of the state of affairs, and all that concerned himself, writ to him, "that all things were now so ripe, that he believed the prince would not find it fit to remain longer in France; and thereupon conjured him that he would be ready, if he should be sent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon his highness;" which, he said, all the king's friends expected he should do; and which he was resolved to do as soon as the prince should be out of France, though he should receive no order or invitation so to do.

About the middle of May, the queen, according to his majesty's command, sent to the chancellor of the exchequer to Jersey, commanding, "that he would wait upon the prince in the Louvre at Paris," upon a day that was past before the letter came to his hands. But he no sooner received the summons, than he betook himself to the journey, and to transport himself into Normandy; where, after he was landed, he made what haste he could to Caen, supposing he should there find secretary Nicholas, who had given him notice, "that he had received the same command." When he came to Caen, he found the secretary's lady there, but himself was gone to Rouen, to the lord Cottington, and intended to stay there till the other should arrive, and to consult together there upon their further journey. The old earl of Bristol, who had lived likewise at Caen, was gone with the secretary to Rouen, having likewise received the same summons with the others to attend the prince at the Louvre. The chancellor hastened to Rouen, where he found the lord Cottington, who had still the office and precedency of lord high treasurer of England, the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, who were all his very good friends, and very glad of his arrival. They had received advertisement, the day before, "that the prince, with all his small train, was passed by towards Calais;" and direction was sent, "that the chancellor, whom they supposed to be on the way, and the rest, should stay at Rouen, till they should receive new orders from Calais, where his royal highness would take new measures what he was to do." So they stayed together at Rouen, where there were at the same time very many English of quality in their own condition, who were driven out of England, as well as they, for their fidelity to the king, and had brought somewhat with them for their support abroad, till they might upon some good change return to their own country. In the mean time they lived very decently together in that city; where they were well esteemed. The way between Rouen and Calais was so dangerous without a very strong convoy, that no day passed without robberies and murders, so that they were glad of their order not to stir from thence, till they should receive a very particular direction from the prince; and within few days they received advice, "that the prince had, as soon as he came to Calais, put himself on board a ship that he found there bound for Holland, whence they were to hear from him, how they should dispose of themselves." Whereupon they all resolved to remove from Rouen to Dieppe, from whence they might embark themselves for Holland if they saw cause; the ways by land, in regard that both the French and the Spanish armies were in the field, being very dangerous. The night before they were to leave Rouen, the secretary received notice by an express from Caen, that his wife was at the point of death, whereupon he was obliged to return to Caen, and the lord Cottington, the earl of Bristol, and the chancellor set forward next day for Dieppe.

The prince's remove from Paris on such a sudden, proceeded from an accident in England that was very extraordinary, and looked like a call from Heaven. The parliament had prepared, according to custom, a good fleet of ten or a dozen ships for the summer guard, and appointed Rainsborough to be admiral thereof; who had been bred at sea, and was the son of an eminent commander at sea, lately dead; but he himself, from the time of the new model, had been an officer of foot in the army, and was a colonel of special note and account, and of Cromwell's chief confidents.

Which offended the earl of Warwick much, and disposed him to concurrence with his brother. And captain Batten was as much unsatisfied, who had acted so great a part in the first alienating the fleet and the affections of the seamen from the king, and had ever been their vice-admiral afterwards, and the person upon whom they principally relied at sea. Rainsborough, as long as he remained in the navy, had been under his command, and both the earl and he well knew that this man was now made admiral of this fleet, because they, being presbyterians, should have no credit or influence upon it; which made them solicitous enough that the seamen should not be well pleased with the alteration; and they looked upon Rainsborough as a man that had forsaken them, and preferred the land before the sea service. The seamen are a nation by themselves, a humorous and fantastic people, fierce and rude, and resolute in whatsoever they resolve or are inclined to, unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it, and jealous of those to-morrow by whom they are governed to-day. These men, observing the general discontent of the people, and that, however the parliament was obeyed by the power of the army, both army and parliament were grown very odious to them, and hearing so much discourse of an army from Scotland ready to enter into the kingdom, they concluded that the king would be restored; and then remembering that the revolt of the fleet was the preamble to the loss of his majesty's authority every where else, and the cause of all his misfortunes, imagined it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his majesty's restoration by their declaring for him. This was an agitation among the common seamen, without communicating it to any officer of the quality of master of a ship. This inclination was much improved in them by a general disposition in Kent to an insurrection for the king, and by some gentlemen's coming on board the ships, according to the custom of that country; who fomented the good disposition in the seamen by all the ways they could.

At this very time there appeared generally throughout Kent the same indigested affection to the king, and inclination to serve him, as was among the seamen, and was conducted with much less order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been designed by those who took care of the king's affairs, and who designed those insurrections which happened in other parts of the kingdom. They knew nothing, that is, contributed nothing to this distemper among the seamen, though they were not without some hope, that, upon other revolutions, somewhat might likewise fall out at sea to the advantage of the king's affairs. They had some expectation indeed from Kent, where they knew the people were generally well affected, and depended upon two or three gentlemen of that country, who had been officers in the king's army, and resolved to bring in some troops of horse, when occasion should be ripe; but it was resolved that the Scottish army should be entered the kingdom, by which the parliament army would be upon their march towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near London; and then they believed that both country and city would rise together. And so those gentlemen of Kent, who were privy to any design, lay privately in London to avoid all cabals in their country; so that what now fell out there, was by mere chance and accident, that could never be foreseen, or prevented.

There happened to be at some jovial meeting in Kent about that time, one Mr. L'Estrange, a younger brother of a good family in Norfolk, who had been always of the king's party, and for attempting somewhat in his own country for his majesty's service, had been taken prisoner by the parliament, and by a court of war condemned to die, but being kept in prison till the end of the war, was then set at liberty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retained his old affections, and more remembered the cruel usage he had received, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a great friendship with a young gentleman, Mr. Hales, who lived in Kent, and was married to a lady of a noble birth and fortune, he being heir to one of the greatest fortunes of that country, but was to expect the inheritance from the favour of an old severe grandfather, who for the present kept the young couple from running into any excess; the mother of the lady being of as sour and strict a nature as the grandfather, and both of them so much of the parliament party, that they were not willing any part of their estates should be hazarded for the king. At the house of this Mr. Hales, Mr. L'Estrange was, when, by the communication which that country always hath with the ships which lie in the Downs, the report first did arise that the fleet would presently declare for the king, and those seamen who came on shore talked as if the city of London would join with them. This drew many gentlemen of the country who wished well, to visit the ships, and they returned more confirmed of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowship was a vice generally spread over that country, and this young great heir, who had been always bred among his neighbours, affected that which they were best pleased with, and so his house was a rendezvous for those who delighted in that exercise, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the fleet for the king; and all men's mouths were full of the general hatred the whole kingdom had against the parliament as well as the army. Mr. L'Estrange was a man of a good wit, and a fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterprising nature. He observed, by the good company that came to the house, that the affections of all that large and populous country were for the king. He begun to tell Mr. Hales, "that though his grandfather did in his heart wish the king well, yet his carriage had been such in his conjunction with the parliament, that he had more need of the king's favour than of his grandfather's to be heir to that great estate; and that certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his grandfather, or more glorious to him, than to be the instrument of both;" and therefore advised him "to put himself into the head of his own country, which would be willing to be led by him; that when the Scots were entered into the northern parts, and all the kingdom should be in arms, he might, with the body of his countrymen, march towards London; which would induce both the city and the parliament to join with him, whereby he should have great share in the honour of restoring the king."

The company that frequented the house thought the discourse very reasonable, and saw that the issue must be very honourable: the young lady of the house was full of zeal for the king, and was willing her husband should be the instrument of his delivery: the young gentleman himself had not been enough conversant in the affairs of the world to apprehend the danger or hazard of the attempt, and so referred himself and the whole business to be governed and conducted by Mr. L'Estrange, whom they all believed by his discourse to be an able soldier. He writ some letters to particular gentlemen, who he was informed would receive them willingly, and signed warrants to the constables of hundreds with his own name, which had been never heard of in the country, requiring, "in his majesty's name, all persons to appear, at a time and place appointed, to advise together, and to lay hold on such opportunities, as should be offered for relieving the king and delivering him out of prison." There was an incredible appearance of the country at the place appointed, where Mr. L'Estrange appeared with Mr. Hales, and those persons which had been used to their company. Mr. L'Estrange spoke to them in a style very much his own; and being not very clear to be understood, the more prevailed over them. He spake like a man in authority,[1] inveighed against "the tyranny of the army, which had subdued the parliament, against their barbarous imprisonment of the king, and against a conspiracy they had to murder him." He added, "that the affections of that noble country were well known to his majesty, and that he had therefore appointed the fleet that was in the Downs to join with them; and that he doubted not but they would together be too strong for his enemies, who were like to have enough to do to defend themselves in many other places; and that his majesty was willing they should have a gentleman of their own country, well known to them, to be their general;" and named Mr. Hales; who was present. There was not one man who so much as asked for any letter or commission, or other authority from the king; but all of them, very frankly and unanimously, declared "they would be ready to join, and march as their general Hales should direct;" and so another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and listing and forming their regiments; and in the mean time Mr. L'Estrange set out such declarations and engagements, as he thought most like to prevail with the people, and required, "that they should be read in all churches;" which was done accordingly. The next appearance was greater than the former; and with the same courage, many coming armed both horse and foot, and shewing a marvellous alacrity to the engagement. Their general then gave out his commissions for several regiments, and a new day was appointed for their rendezvous, when all should come armed, and keep together in a body, until it should be fit to march to London.

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[1] This was the famous sir Roger, and is here well characterized.—W.

It was known that the fleet was gone out of the Downs, but it was as well known that it had absolutely renounced the service of the parliament, and rejected all their officers. It was easy to persuade the people, that they were gone upon some important enterprise, and would speedily return; and it was insinuated, "that it was gone to the Isle of Wight to release the king, who would return with it into Kent;" which made them hasten their preparations.

At the time when the king made the earl of Northumberland admiral, he declared, and it was inserted in his commission, "that he should enjoy that office during the minority of the duke of York;" and the duke having made his escape at this time, when there was this commotion amongst the seamen, it was no sooner known that his highness was in Holland, but the seamen talked aloud, "that they would go to their admiral;" and the gentlemen of Kent stirring them up and inflaming them to that resolution, and the seamen again pressing the gentlemen to hasten their rising in arms, that they might assist and second each other, they both declared themselves sooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an enterprise of that importance.

The parliament was well informed of the distemper amongst the seamen, and had therefore forborne putting the half of the provisions aboard the ships, which, for the greatest part, lay ready in the Downs, wanting only half the victual they were to have for the summer service. But those officers which were on board, finding they had no authority, and that the seamen mocked and laughed at them, sent every day to inform the parliament, what mutinous humour the whole fleet was in. Whereupon they sent Rainsborough and some other officers thither; presuming that the presence of the admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a man of a rough imperious nature, as soon as he came on board his ship, begun to make a strict inquiry into the former disorders and mutinous behaviour, upon which all the men of his ship retired into their old fortress of one and all, and presently laid hold on him, and put him, and such other officers of the ship as they liked not, into the boat, and sent them on shore. Which was no sooner known to the rest of the ships, but they followed their example, and used their officers in the same manner. After they had for some days been feasted and caressed by the people of Kent, some of the gentlemen putting themselves on board to join with them, and in order to assist them towards providing such necessaries as were wanting, they went out of the Downs, and stood for Holland, that they might find their admiral; and let fall their anchors before the Brill. What was done by the gentlemen of Kent on shore, and the success thereof, will be related hereafter.

This so very seasonable revolt of the fleet, in a conjuncture when so many advantages were expected, was looked upon as a sure omen of the deliverance of the king. And the report that the ships were before Calais, as if they had expected somebody there, which was true, for some time, was the reason that it was thought fit that the prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being sent for by the Scots, and how to find himself with them) should make all possible haste to Calais. This was the cause of that his sudden motion, which was yet retarded for want of money, and all other things necessary for his journey. The cardinal shewed no manner of favouring all these appearances of advantage to the king; he gave less countenance to Scotland, than he had ever done when it was in rebellion against the king; and, notwithstanding all his promises with reference to Ireland, the marquis of Ormond remained still at Paris, without obtaining arms or money in any proportion, (both which had been promised so liberally,) and was, after all importunities, compelled to transport himself into Ireland (where he was so importunately called for) without any manner of supplies, which were expected. And now, when the remove of the prince was so behoveful, the cardinal utterly refused to furnish him with any money; all which discountenances were shortly after remembered to Cromwell, as high merit.

The prince's remove was by every body thought so necessary, that the lord Jermyn, as was pretended, found means to borrow[1] so much money as was necessary for the journey; which the king paid long after with full interest. Dr. Goffe, a man well known in that time, as the chief agent and confident of my lord Jermyn, was presently sent into Holland, to dispose the seamen to be willing to receive the lord Jermyn to command the fleet. So solicitous that nobleman was to be in the head of any action that was like to prosper, how unfit soever he was for it; having neither industry, nor knowledge of any thing of the sea, and being less beloved by the seamen than any man that could be named. The prince made what haste he could to Calais, attended by prince Rupert, the lord Hopton, and the lord Colepepper, and some other gentlemen, besides his own domestics; and finding one of the English frigates before Calais, and understanding that the duke of York was gone from the Hague to Helvoetsluys, and had put himself on board the fleet there, his highness presently embarked, and made the more haste lest his brother should be in action before him, and was received at the fleet with all those acclamations and noises of joy, which that people are accustomed to; they having expressed as much some days before, at the arrival of the duke of York.

As soon as it was known in Holland that the prince of Wales was arrived, the prince of Orange, with his wife the princess royal, came presently thither to entertain his highness the best that place would permit, but especially to rejoice together, having not seen each other from the time they were children. The prince found the fleet in faction and disorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sir John Berkley's coming to the Hague to assume the government of the duke of York, had not been acceptable to his royal highness; who was persuaded by colonel Bamfield, that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the king to the Isle of Wight. The colonel himself was so incensed with it, that he used all the skill and insinuation he had, to lessen his highness's reverence to the queen, and to dispute her commands. Then taking the opportunity of the fleet's being come to Helvoetsluys, he went thither, and having, as is said before, a wonderful address to the disposing men to mutiny, and to work upon common men, which the fleet consisted of, the greatest officer among them being not above the quality of a boatswain or master's mate, he persuaded them "to declare for the duke of York, without any respect to the king or prince; and when his highness should be on board, that they should not meddle in the quarrel between the king and the parliament, but entirely join with the presbyterian party, and the city of London; which by this means would bring the parliament to reason:" and he prepared his friends the seamen when the duke should come to them, that they would except against sir John Berkley, and cause him to be dismissed; and then he believed he should be able to govern both his highness and the fleet.

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[1] Jermyn, who had the queen of England's purse, without doubt furnished the prince out of that, as money borrowed by him.—W.

At the same time Dr. Goffe, who was a dexterous man too, and could comply with all men in all the acts of good-fellowship, had gotten acquaintance with others of the seamen, and made them jealous of Bamfield's activity; and endeavoured to persuade them, "that they should all petition the prince," (who, he knew, would be shortly with them,) "that the lord Jermyn might be made their admiral; who would be able to supply them with money, and whatsoever else they wanted: that there was no hope of money but from France, and that the lord Jermyn had all the power and credit there, and might have what money he desired;" and by these agitations, the infant loyalty of the seamen begun to be distracted.

At the same time the lord Willoughby of Parham, who had always adhered to the presbyterians, and was of great esteem amongst them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the parliament, and secretly transported himself into Holland; and was arrived at Rotterdam, when Bamfield returned from the fleet, and went to wait upon the duke of York at the Hague. Bamfield delivered such a message from the fleet as he thought would hasten the duke's journey thither; and told him, " the seamen made great inquiry after the lord Willoughby, and much longed to have him with them ;" insinuating to the duke, " that he had much contributed to that good disposition in the seamen, and was privy to their revolt, and had promised speedily to come to them, and that it would be the most acceptable thing his highness could do to carry him with him to the fleet, and make him his vice-admiral." The duke made all imaginable haste to Helvoetsluys, and immediately went on board the Admiral; where he was received with the usual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the lord Willoughby his vice-admiral, and appointed some other officers in the several ships, and seemed very desirous to be out at sea. In the mean time Bamfield continued his activity; and the doctor, finding he had little hope to raise his patron to the height he proposed, did all he could to hinder the operation of Bamfield, and took all the ways he could that the prince might be advertised of it, and thereupon hasten his own journey; which did likewise contribute to the haste his highness made. He arrived at Helvoetsluys very seasonably to prevent many inconveniences, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the seamen, upon his highness's appearance, returned again into their old cheerful humour ; which the prince knew would be best preserved by action ; and therefore exceedingly desired to be at sea, where he was sure he must be superior to any force the parliament could in a short time put out. But the fleet already wanted many provisions, of which beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and assistance of the prince of Orange, was in a short time procured in a reasonable proportion ; and then the prince set sail for the Downs ; having sent his brother, the duke of York, with all his family to the Hague, to remain there.

Though the duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the fleet, which he had been persuaded to look upon as his province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reason would not permit they should both be ventured at one time on board the fleet; and, the prince determining to engage his own person, he submitted to the determination ; and was well content to remain with his sister. The prince did not think fit to remove the lord Willoughby (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the presbyterian party) from the charge the duke had given him; though he had never been at sea, and was not at all known to the seamen. But captain Batten coming at the same time when his highness did to the fleet, and bringing the Constant Warwick, one of the best frigates the parliament had built, with Jordan, and two or three seamen of good command, his highness knighted him, and made him rear-admiral of the fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular and acceptable thing to the seamen, than by putting the same man, who had commanded them so many years, over them again at this time; whose experience and government would supply the defects and want of skill of the vice-admiral, who was very willing to be advised by him. But the prince shortly after found he was mistaken in that expedient, and that the seamen (who desired to serve the king upon the clear principles of obedience and loyalty)[1] did not in any degree affect Batten, because he had failed in both, and was now of a party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the prince came prepared and disposed from the queen, to depend wholly upon the presbyterian party, which, besides the power of the Scottish army, which was every day expected to invade England, was thought to be possessed of all the strength of the city of London; and the lord Colepepper, and Mr. Long, the prince's secretary, were trusted by the queen to keep the prince steady and fast to that dependence; and his highness was enjoined to be entirely advised by them; though all the other lords about him were of another mind, and the prince himself not inclined that way. Dr. Steward, the dean of the king's chapel, whom his majesty had recommended to his son to instruct him in all matters relating to the church, and Dr. Earles, and the rest of his chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent those infusions. But, by those two, the benefit of this fleet was principally considered, as a happy means to put the prince on shore, that he might be in the head of the Scottish army; and no doubt if that army had been then entered into England, as it was very shortly after, the prince would have been advised, with the fleet, "to have followed all the advice which should have been sent from the Scots."

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[1] i. e. without insisting on terms.—W.

In the mean time it was thought most counsellable, after the prince had sailed some days about the coast, that the kingdom might generally know that his highness was there, that they should all go into the river of Thames, and lie still there; by which they expected two great advantages; first, that the city would be thereby engaged to declare itself, when they saw all their trade obstructed; and that their ships homewards bound, of which, at that season of the year, they expected many, must fall into the prince's hands; and then, that the presence of the prince in the river would hinder the parliament from getting seamen; and from setting out that fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the command of the earl of Warwick; whom they thought fit, in this exigent, again to employ; and who, by accepting the charge, thought he should be in a better posture to choose his party, in any other alteration that should happen at land.

When the parliament first heard of the commotion in Kent, and saw the warrants which were sent out and signed by L'Estrange, whom nobody knew, (and the gentlemen of Kent, who sat in the parliament, assured them, "that there was no such gentleman in that county;" and sir Edward Hales, who likewise was present there, told them, "he was very confident that his grandson could not be embarked in such an affair,") they neglected it, and thought it a design to amuse them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and saw the declarations which were published, and were well assured that young Hales appeared with them as their general, they thought the matter worth their care; and therefore appointed their general, "to send two or three troops of horse into Kent to suppress that seditious insurrection;" sir Edward Hales now excusing himself with revilings, threats, and detestation of his grandson; who, he protested, should never be his heir.

The earl of Holland, who had a commission to be general, and the rest who were engaged, were not yet ready, the Scots being not yet entered; nor did they understand any thing of the business of Kent; however when they were assured that they were drawn into a body, and were so strong that the officers who commanded the troops which had been sent to suppress them, had sent to the parliament word, "that they durst not advance, for that the enemy was much stronger than they, and increased daily; and that they had sent a letter to the city of London inviting them to join with them;" they thought it fit to send them all the countenance and encouragement they could; and thereupon despatched those officers who had been designed for the troops of that county, when the season should be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked privately in London to avoid suspicion. They were desired to call their friends together, as soon as was possible, to join with their neighbours; and were told, "that they should very shortly receive a general from the king:" for they did not think Mr. Hales equal to the work, who found his power and credit to grow less, the greater the appearance grew to be; and they begun to inquire for the king's commission. The earl of Holland had formed his party of many officers who had served both the king and the parliament; all which were in the city; and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect the appearance of their northern friends, and therefore consulting with the rest, and finding the earl of Norwich, who had been some months in England under a pass from the parliament, (upon pretence of making his composition, from which he had never been excluded,) willing to engage himself in the conduct of those in Kent, where he was well known and beloved, his affection and zeal for the king's service being not to be doubted, they resolved that he should go thither; and there being many blank commissions ready to be disposed as the service should require, they filled one with his name, by which the command of all Kent was committed to him, "with power to lead them any whither as the good of the king's service should make requisite." And with this commission he made haste into Kent, and found at Maidstone a better body of horse and foot armed than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any army that was like to be brought against them. They all received him with wonderful acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr. Hales, upon the news of another general to be sent thither, and upon the storms of threats and rage which fell upon him from his grandfather, on the one side, and on his wife by her mother on the other side, and upon the conscience that he was not equal to the charge, though his affection was not in the least declined, found means to transport himself, and wife, together with his friend Mr. L'Estrange, who had lost his credit with the people, into Holland; resolving, as soon as he had put his wife out of the reach of her mother, to return himself, and to venture his person in the service which he could not conduct; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

The importunities from Scotland with the presbyterians their correspondents, the fame of sir Marmaduke Langdale's being well received at Edinburgh, and that many English officers and soldiers daily flocked thither, but especially the promises from Paris of supplies of arms, ammunition, and money, as soon as they could expect it, set all the other wheels going in England which had been preparing all the winter.[1] There were in South Wales colonel Laughorn, colonel Powell, and colonel Poyer, who commanded those parts under the parliament, which they had served from the beginning: the first of them a gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune in land in those counties, who had been bred a page under the earl of Essex, when he had a command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependence upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour, and by that relation was first engaged in the rebellion, as many other gentlemen had been, without wishing ill to the king: the second was a gentleman too, but a soldier of fortune: the third, had from a low trade raised himself in the war to the reputation of a very diligent and stout officer, and was at this time trusted by the parliament with the government of the town and castle of Pembroke. These three communicated their discontents to each other, and all thought themselves ill requited by the parliament for the service they had done, and that other men, especially colonel Mitton, were preferred before them; and resolved to take the opportunity of the Scots coming in, to declare for the king upon the presbyterian account. But Laughorn who was not infected with any of those freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it should be time, to sober resolutions, would not engage till he first sent a confident to Paris to inform the prince of what he had determined, and of what their wants consisted, which if not relieved, they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive orders for the time of their declaring, and assurance that they should in time receive those supplies they stood in need of. And the lord Jermyn sent him a promise under his hand, "that he should not fail of receiving all the things he had desired, before he could be pressed by the enemy;" and therefore conjured him, and his friends, "forthwith to declare for the king; which he assured them would be of singular benefit and advantage to his majesty's service; since, upon the first notice of their having declared, the Scottish army would be ready to march into England." Hereupon they presently declared, before they were provided to keep the field for want of ammunition and money, and when Pembroke was not supplied with provisions for above two months; and were never thought of after.

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[1] Here was the revolt of the fleet, insurrection in every part of England, an universal disposition in the people, and a Scotch army to support all, and yet all failed; which shows, that no revolution can be brought about in spite of a brave, veteran, well disciplined army, indisposed to a change. The disposition to return again to monarchy in the old channel, was not greater in 1660 than it was now in 1648. What made that attempt succeed, and this fail? Nothing but the party taken by the army. Monk carried it over to the son, and Cromwell kept it back from the father.—W.

The lord Byron had been sent from Paris, upon the importunities from Scotland, to get as many places to declare in England in several places, as might distract the army, and keep it from an entire engagement against them; to dispose his old friends about Chester and North Wales to appear as soon as might be: and he presently, with the help of colonel Robinson, possessed himself of the island of Anglesey, and disposed all North Wales to be ready to declare as soon as the Scots should enter the kingdom. But that which was of most importance, and seemed already to have brought the war even into the heart of England, was that some gentlemen, who had formerly served the king in the garrison of Newark, and in the northern army, under sir Marmaduke

Langdale, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into Scotland, and upon orders received from him since, when he believed the Scots would be in a short time ready to begin their march) surprised the strong castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, (which had a garrison in it for the parliament,) and grew presently so numerous, by the resort of officers and soldiers from the adjacent counties, that they grew formidable to all those parts, and made the communication between London and York insecure, except it was with strong troops. Upon which argument of the surprise of Pontefract, we shall enlarge hereafter, before we speak of the tragic conclusion of this enterprise. All affairs were in this motion in England, before there was any appearance of an army in Scotland, which they had promised should be ready to march by the beginning of May.

Indeed as to the raising an army in Scotland, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should command, and be general of this army, was the matter upon which the success of all they proposed would depend; and if they could not procure duke Hamilton to be made choice of for that service, they could promise themselves no good issue of the undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old general Lesley, who had been hitherto in the head of their army in all their prosperous successes; but he was in the confidence of Argyle, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; and the man was grown old, and appeared, in the actions of the last expedition into England, very unequal to the command. And therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the command, upon pretence of his age and infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his honour against the English, except assisted by English, which had been his good fortune in all the actions of moment he had performed; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always received some affront. When by this means there was a new general to be named, duke Hamilton was proposed, as a fit man to be employed to redeem the honour of the nation. He had formerly undergone the office of general under the king of Sweden, where Lesley, that had now declined the employment, was major general under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of war.

Whilst this was depending, Argyle took notice of sir Marmaduke Langdale's and sir Philip Musgrave's being in the town, and of some discourses which they had used, or some other English officers in their company, and desired, "that, if they were to have any command in the army, they might presently take the covenant; and that there might be a general declaration, that there should be neither officer nor soldier received into their army, before he had first taken the covenant: and that, after they were entered into the kingdom of England, they should make no conjunction with any forces, or persons, who had not done, or should refuse to do the same." This proposal found no opposition; they who were most forward to raise the army for the delivery of the king, being as violent as any to advance that declaration. And though duke Hamilton and his brother of Lanrick did as well disapprove it in their own judgments, as they did foresee, out of the long experience they had of England, what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet they had not the courage in any degree to speak against it; and the chancellor of Scotland and the earl of Lautherdale were as passionate for the advancement of it, as Argyle himself; and seemed to think that those two gentlemen either had already taken, or would be willing to take it.

It can hardly be believed, that, after so long knowledge of England, and their observation of whom the king's party did consist, after their so often conferences with the king without prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to preserve himself at Newcastle from being delivered up to the parliament, or in their last agitation with him, when he yielded to so many unreasonable particulars to gratify them, to consent to or promise, "that any man should be compelled to take the covenant;" that they should still adhere to that fatal combination against the church, which they could never hope to bring to pass, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the king under as strict a restraint, when they should get him into their hands, as he was under the domination of the parliament and army: yet they were so infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their apprehension of the king's party, and designed no less to oppress them than the independents and anabaptists; and upon the news of the revolt of the fleet from the parliament to the king, the insurrection in Kent, and other places, and the general inclinations throughout the kingdom for the king, they slackened their preparations, that they might defer their march, to the end that all that strength might be oppressed and reduced, that so they might be absolute masters after they had prevailed over the army. And at last, when they could defer their march no longer, upon the importunate pressure of their friends in London, they sent the earl of Lautherdale with those insolent instructions, which will be mentioned anon, and positively required the prince immediately to repair to them; positively declaring, "that if his person should not be forthwith in their army, they would return again into Scotland without making any attempt;" and the knowing this resolution, was the reason that the queen was so positive in her instructions, notwithstanding the appearance of any other advantage to the king in England.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave no sooner heard of this declaration, than they went to those lords, and expostulated very sharply with them, for "having broken their faiths, and betrayed them into their country; where they were looked upon as enemies." They were answered, "that they must give over their design to redeem the king, or yield to this determination, which their parliament was so firm and united in; and would never depart from." And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the covenant; some of them desiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to satisfy them, that the covenant did not include those things in it, which they thought it did. But when they saw those gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they resolved presently to leave the country; and told them, "they would undeceive those honest people in England, who were too much inclined to trust them; and that they should find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagined;" the Scottish lords knew well enough of what importance their presence was to be to them, for their very entrance into England; and thereupon desired them, "that they would have a little patience, and again absent themselves from Edinburgh, till the heat of this dispute was over, and till the army should be ready to march;" and duke Hamilton, who had a marvellous insinuation to get himself believed, assured them in confidence, "that as soon as he should find himself in the head of his army, and upon their march, there should be no more talk of covenants, but that all the king's friends should be welcome, and without distinction." So they left Edinburgh again, and went to their old quarters; where they had not stayed long, before the duke sent for them to come to him in private; and after a very cheerful reception, he told them, "he was now ready; and that their friends in England called so importunately for them, that he was resolved to march in very few days; which he thought necessary to communicate to them, not only for the friendship he had for them; which would always keep him without reserve towards them; but because he must depend upon them two to surprise the towns of Berwick and Carlisle, against the time he should be able to march thither; for he intended to march between those two places."

The work was not hard to be performed by them, they having, from their first entrance into Scotland, adjusted with their friends who inhabited near those places, to be ready for that enterprise when they should be called upon; which they then believed would have been much sooner; so that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded commissions from the duke for the doing thereof; which he excused himself for not giving, under pretence of "the secrecy that was necessary; in respect whereof he would not trust his own secretary; and likewise, as a thing unnecessary for the work; since it was their own reputation and interest, and their being known to have been always trusted by the king, by which they could bring it to pass, and not his commission; for which those towns would have no reverence." Besides, he told them, "that the marquis of Argyle had still protested against their beginning the war by any act of hostility against the English, in forcing any of the towns;

which was not necessary in order to the king's deliverance; but that an army might march to the place where the king was, to the end that those messengers who were sent by the state to speak with the king, might have liberty to speak with his majesty; which was a right of the kingdom, and the demanding it could be no breach of the pacification between the two kingdoms."

This argument, they knew, was not reasonable enough to sway the duke. But they foresaw two other reasons, which did prevail with him not to give those commissions they desired, which otherwise might have been given with the same secrecy that the business was to be acted with; the one, the order against giving any commission to any man before he had taken the covenant: and how much authority soever the duke might take upon him to dispense with that order after he should be in England, it might not be convenient that he should assume it whilst he remained yet at Edinburgh: the other was, that, when they had done it without his commission, he might, upon his march, or as soon as he came thither, dispossess them of the government, and put Scotchmen into their places; the last of which he did not dissemble to them; but confessed, "that, though the council of Scotland would not attempt the taking of those towns, yet when they should be taken, they would expect the government thereof should be in their hands, and depend upon them, without which they should not be able to send him those continual supplies which he expected from them." And there being then a recruit of five or six thousand, which sir George Monroe had near raised in the north, who were to begin their march after him, as soon as he should be out of Scotland, the two gentlemen had no purpose of remaining in those governments, well knowing that their presence would be of importance to the army, at least whilst they stayed in the northern counties; yet they knew well, it was for the service that those towns should remain in the hands of the English, without which few of the gentlemen of those parts would declare themselves, how well affected soever they were; which when they had offered to the duke, they left it to him, and accepted the employment he pressed them to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in both places at one time, all things being concerted between them to that purpose.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale had several officers, and soldiers, laid privately on the Scottish side to wait his commands, and more on the English; there being two or three good families within two or three miles of Berwick, who were well affected and ready to appear when they should be required; in expectation whereof they had for some time harboured many men. Some of them sir Marmaduke appointed to meet him, on the Scottish side, at a place about a mile distant from Berwick, the night before he intended the surprise, and the rest to be in the town by the rising of the sun; some about the market place, and some upon the bridge, by which he must enter. The next morning, being market day, when great droves of little horses, laden with sacks of corn, always resorted to the town, sir Marmaduke Langdale, with about a hundred horse, and some few foot, which walked with the market people, presently after sunrising, was upon the bridge, before there was any apprehension; and finding his friends there whom he expected, he caused the bridge presently to be drawn up, and guarded by his foot, and sent others to the other parts. Himself with most of his troops went into the market place, where he found his country friends ready to do all he would command. There was so general a consternation seized upon the whole town, there being no other garrison but town's-men, that after they had seized upon the mayor, who was the governor, all things were in a short time so quiet, that they opened their ports again, that the market might not be interrupted. Sir Philip Musgrave, with as little opposition, possessed himself of Carlisle; where he had a greater interest; and the people were generally better affected to the king, and more disinclined to the Scots than those of Berwick used to be; and they both hastened advertisement to the duke of what they had done.

It will be much wondered at, that after Cromwell plainly foresaw they should have a war with Scotland, and had constant intelligence from thence of the advances they made, he did not take care to put garrisons into those two important places, the very strength of which could for some time have withstood all the power which Scotland could have brought against them. But the same reason which had been current at Edinburgh to this very time, had prevailed at Westminster. It was specially provided for by the act of pacification between the two kingdoms, when the parliaments of both kingdoms combined against the king, "that there should be no more garrisons kept on either side in Berwick or Carlisle;" where they were then disbanded, and some of their fortifications slighted; which could easily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an enemy for some time. And the parliament would not now permit any men to be sent thither, that the Scots might not pretend that the war was begun by them; but left Berwick to the government of the mayor and the citizens; who could have defended themselves against the Scots if they had expected them. But the truth is, Cromwell had so perfect a contempt of the whole strength of that nation,[1] that he never cared what advantage ground they had upon any field, or what place they ever possessed.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave were no sooner possessed of Berwick and Carlisle, than all the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly served the king, resorted and flocked to them well armed, appointed, and provided for the war; so that they had not only very sufficient garrisons to keep those places, but troops enough of horse to free the adjacent counties from those forces, and committees, and other persons, who were either publicly engaged in, or well known privately to wish well to the parliament. It was upon the 28th of April that sir Marmaduke Langdale possessed himself of Berwick; and next day after sir Philip Musgrave surprised Carlisle, about eight of the clock at night, many gentlemen of the neighbours being in and about the town, expecting his arrival; so that the citizens were in confusion, and made little resistance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to duke Hamilton, that they would deliver up the towns to him when he should require them; he having assured them, "that the king had promised, under his hand, that those two towns should be delivered into the possession of the Scots;" which it must needs be supposed that they should first take from the parliament, in whose possession they were both when the king signed the engagement at Carisbrook castle. And the duke had not only refused to give them any men, or other assistance towards the taking them, but, as hath been said, would not grant them his commission to perform it; pretending, "that he durst not do it, because they were bound not to begin the war:" only he, and the other lords of his fraternity, promised "to send five hundred muskets, and ten barrels of powder to each garrison; and that their whole army should march into England within twenty days; and that, if they were sooner in distress, they should be sure to be relieved."

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[1] This was well observed as the true cause of the neglect; for had Cromwell thought such a measure as the garrisoning those two towns, as a matter of great importance, he would have regarded no treaties nor *acts of pacification*.—W.

But after he heard that both places were possessed by them, he deferred not to send a governor and garrison to receive Berwick; to whom sir Marmaduke Langdale delivered it according to his promise; and was required "to march with all the English to the parts adjacent to Carlisle, and there to increase his troops to what number he could, with what expedition was possible;" which he performed so effectually, that, in very few days, he had a rendezvous upon a heath within five miles of Carlisle, where he mustered above three thousand foot well armed, and seven hundred horse not so well armed; all which were raised in Cumberland and Westmoreland, over and above the garrison of Carlisle; which yet remained under sir Philip Musgrave; and, within two days, five hundred horse, very well appointed, came out of Yorkshire, the bishopric of Durham, and the neighbour parts; so that sir Marmaduke Langdale resolved presently to march into Lancashire, to reduce those who were for the parliament there; which he could easily have done, the lord Byron being ready upon the borders of Cheshire to have joined with him. But this quick advance and progress towards an army, was not well looked upon at Edinburgh; and an express was despatched with positive orders to sir Marmaduke Langdale "not to engage or fight with the enemy, upon what advantage soever, until the Scottish army should come up." And wherever that express should overtake sir Marmaduke, he was immediately to retire with his forces near Carlisle;

which he obeyed as soon as he received the order, and when he might have marched against Lambert; who was sent before with a less strength than sir Marmaduke commanded, and which in all probability would have been defeated.

But, as if this had not been discouragement enough, within one or two days after that express, letters were sent from the council in Scotland, by which sir Marmaduke Langdale was very severely reprehended, "for receiving papists into his army, and not owning the covenant in the declarations which he had published;" and told, "that he should receive no assistance from them, except the covenant was embraced by all his army." This struck at the root of all their hopes; and was so contrary to all the engagements they had received from the Scottish lords, both by words and letters, "that they should never be troubled with any such motions, after they were once upon English ground; and that then they should proceed upon those grounds as were like to bring in most men to their assistance;" that sir Marmaduke prevailed with sir Philip Musgrave to make a journey forthwith to Edinburgh, to expostulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm resolution to the lords there.

Sir Philip Musgrave, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the covenant, and were willing to join with them, carried a list with him of the names of many officers in their troops who had been compelled to take the covenant before they could be admitted to composition, or procure the sequestrations to be taken from their estates, and of some others who had taken it for quietness sake in the places where they lived; with which the Scots were in some degree mitigated, but seemed to retain still their rigour, that it should be submitted to by the whole army.

In the mean time Lambert, having gotten a strong body of horse and foot, advanced upon sir Marmaduke Langdale; who, being enjoined not to fight, was forced to retire to Carlisle, and suffer himself to be, upon the matter, blocked up on one side, whilst he sent letter upon letter to the duke "to hasten his march, or to send some troops to his assistance, and liberty to fight the enemy."

The earl of Norwich had found the assembly at Maidstone very numerous, but likewise very disorderly, and without government, nor easy to be reduced under any command. They had been long enough together to enter into jealousies of one another, and from thence into factions, and were of several opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire submission and obedience to the earl of Norwich as their general, yet no man forbore to deliver his opinion of things and persons, nor to inquire by what means they had first been drawn together; which implied that many men wished they had been to begin again. The earl was a man fitter to have drawn such a body together by his frolic and pleasant humour, which reconciled people of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any enterprise. He had always lived in the court in such a station of business as raised him very few enemies; and his pleasant and jovial nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many friends, at least made many delight in his company. So that by the great favour he had with the king and queen, and the little prejudice he stood in with any body else, he was very like, if the fatal disorder of the time had not blasted his hopes, to have grown master of a very fair fortune; which was all that he proposed to himself. But he had no experience or knowledge of the war, nor knew how to exercise the office he had taken upon him of general, but was very willing to please every man, and comply with every body's humour; which was quickly discovered; and so men withdrew the reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obstinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indisposition increased, when they heard that Fairfax himself was appointed to march towards them. They who best understood the affair, and how to apply the strength they had to the best advantage, advised, "that they might retire beyond Rochester, and by breaking down the bridge there, and fortifying another pass or two, which was easy to be done, they might keep the enemy from entering into the west of Kent" (which was the largest and best part of that rich and populous county) "longer than they would be able to continue the attempt, for fear of being enclosed by an enemy at their back, if the city of London, or those of Essex, who were most spoken of, had a mind to declare for the king; and by this means they might be sure of a correspondence with the fleet;" of the return whereof in a short time they were most confident; and the more, because some gentlemen of their own body were on board the fleet in some authority, who, they knew, would hasten their return all they could.

Many were the more persuaded that the fleet was gone to the Isle of Wight for the rescue of the king, because those gentlemen were gone in it. And without doubt that advice was the most reasonable, and if it had been pursued might have kept the enemy at a bay for some time. But other men less reasonable were of another mind: they did not believe that Fairfax could have leisure to look after them; they were confident that the parliament had so many enemies to look after, those in Wales growing strong, and having beaten the party that had been sent against them; and the officers in the north, who had seized upon Pontefract castle in Yorkshire, and had drawn in a strong garrison from the parts adjacent, had a body of horse, that infested all those parts; and the Scots were upon their march for England; and therefore they concluded that Fairfax could not be at leisure to visit them: the retiring would be an argument of fear, which would dishearten their friends at London, and all those of that part of Kent, which must be deserted upon their retreat, would desert them, as soon as that resolution should be known;" and therefore they desired, "that they might all march towards Blackheath; which would raise the spirits of their friends, and many would resort every day to them out of London and the parts adjacent; all which were eminently well affected."

The noise for this was the greater, and the earl of Norwich himself was thereby swayed to be of that opinion; and so they resolved to advance, and a short day was appointed for a general rendezvous upon Blackheath; and orders were sent out accordingly.

The disturbance in so many places made the resolution of the general now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, "that Fairfax himself was not willing to march against the Scots;" which was not now counsellable for him to do. Cromwell was very willing to take that province to himself, and had always so great a contempt of the Scots, that he was willing to march with a much lesser number than he well knew the Scottish army to consist of; and being informed which way the Scots resolved to enter the kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them, as soon as they should be entered, with those troops which he had made choice of, having first suppressed the risings in South Wales by taking of Pembroke castle, and making prisoners therein Laughorn, Powel, and Poyer, the heads of that insurrection, and not troubling himself with Pontefract castle, which he thought would not be of great consequence, if the Scots were subdued.

Fairfax, with a numerous part of the army, remained in and about London to suppress the insurrection in Kent, and watch any other which should fall out in the city or thereabouts; of which they had more apprehension than of all the power of Scotland. And so when the parliament was advertised by their troops which were first sent, that they were too weak to advance further, and heard that the earl of Norwich was declared general of the Kentish troops, and was marching in the head of them towards Blackheath, Fairfax drew all his army together, and his cannon, and marched over London-bridge to meet the men of Kent at Blackheath, and to stop their march to London. The earl was now advanced so far, and Fairfax advanced too fast to put the former counsel in practice, of breaking down the bridges, and keeping the passes; and they who had opposed that counsel, and were so forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The countrymen were weary of being all night in the field, though it was the warmest season of the year, the month of July, and many withdrew themselves every day; so that they who remained had no reason to believe themselves equal to the power that marched towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore the earl, upon conference with those who remained, and were resolved to run the utmost hazard, resolved to pass themselves and their horses by such boats as they had ready about Greenwich, and down the river, over into Essex, where they knew they had many friends, and where Fairfax and his army could not visit them in some days. So they made a shift to transport themselves to the number of near two thousand men, horse and foot; whereof many were officers and soldiers who had served the king, and young gentlemen grown up in those families, who had been too young to appear before.

They found many persons in Essex ready to join with them, who came sooner together than they intended, upon the alarm of Kent; and who had purposed to have passed over into Kent to have joined with and assisted those who had so frankly appeared for the king, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There was the brave lord Capel, sir William Compton, sir Charles Lucas, George Lisle, sir Bernard Gascoigne, all excellent officers, with whom colonel Farr, who—upon the sea, joined with them, and many other gentlemen and officers of name, who had drawn together many soldiers; so that when they were joined together, with those who came from Kent, they made a body of above three thousand horse and foot, with officers enough to have formed and commanded a very good army.

They well knew Fairfax would quickly visit them, and therefore they chose to post themselves in Colchester, a great and populous town, which though unfortified, they cast up such works before the avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by an assault; and resolved to expect a conjunction with other of their friends; and were most confident that the Scottish army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be distressed.

They had scarce put themselves and the town, which was not glad of their company, into any order, before Fairfax came upon them; who made no stay in Kent, after he heard what was become of the earl of Norwich and his friends; but left two or three troops of horse to settle that county, with the assistance of their committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now victorious, knew well enough how to deal with those who had revolted from them. When he came first before Colchester, and saw it without any fortifications, he thought presently to have entered the town with his army; but he found so rude resistance, that by the advice of Ireton, who was left by Cromwell to watch the general as well as the army, he resolved to encompass it with his troops, and without hazarding the loss of men to block them up, till famine should reduce them; and disposed his army accordingly; which quickly stopped up all passages by which either men or provisions should get into the town; though by many brave sallies from within, their quarters were often beaten up, and many valiant men were lost on both sides.

The fleet, after it had, with all imaginable cheerfulness, submitted to the command of the prince, was not so active as it was expected it should be; and was very much the worse for the factions and divisions which were amongst those who attended upon the prince; who, according to their several humours, endeavoured to work upon the seamen; a people capable of any impression, but not very retentive of it. Prince Rupert, to whom the prince was very kind, did not, upon many old contests in the late war, love the lord Colepepper, who was not of a temper that cared to court him: and there was one, who had the greatest influence on prince Rupert, Herbert the attorney general,[1] that of all men living was most disposed to make discord and disagreement between men; all his faculties being resolved into a spirit of contradicting, disputing, and wrangling upon any thing that was proposed. He having no title or pretence to interpose in councils, and yet there being no secret in the debates there, found it easy to infuse into prince Rupert, who totally resigned himself to his advice, such arguments as might disturb any resolution: and there were so many who were angry that they were not admitted into the council, as the lords Piercy, Wilmot, and Wentworth, that it was no hard matter to get any thing disliked that was resolved there. They had all that admission and countenance from the prince, that they had as much confidence to speak to and before him, as any where else. Prince Rupert had a great mind that somewhat should be attempted upon the coast, which might have caused some sea-towns, and the parts adjacent, to have declared for the king; which seemed not a design that would bear a reasonable discourse. But action was a very grateful word to the seamen, and they who opposed any thing that tended toward it, were looked upon with great jealousy and prejudice. But the prince was obliged, as hath been said, by his instructions at Paris, not to engage himself in any thing that might divert him from being ready at the minute when the Scots should call for his presence; and they expected the first intimation of that from London; from whence they had the assurance already, that duke Hamilton was entered into the kingdom with an army of above thirty thousand men; which was true.

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[1] The historian has given a fine picture of *Herbert* in his own life.—W.

When the prince came with the fleet into the sea from Helvoetsluys, he met a ship of London bound for Rotterdam, and laden with cloth by the company of Merchant Adventurers, who did not think that the fleet could have been so soon ready for sea. This ship was taken, and, the decks being sealed up, was kept under guard with the fleet; which, at their entrance into the river of Thames, took many other ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all vessels homeward bound, and amongst those an East India ship richly laden, and the more welcome because the ship itself was a very strong ship, and would make an excellent man of war, and the captain thereof was a seaman of courage and experience, and was very well inclined to serve the king: and, without doubt, if all the ships which were then taken, had been sent into some secure ports, the value of the goods would have mounted to so great a sum, as might have countervailed a very great expense at sea and land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found such a secure port, where that treasure might have been deposited, so it was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, and were still pursued, for his royal highness's proceedings. The city of London was to be courted by all the artifices imaginable, and that was so alarmed by the fleet's being in the river, and by the seizure of so many of their ships, especially the cloth ship, that there was a general consternation amongst the people: and the lord mayor and aldermen applied themselves to the parliament, for leave to send down some agents to the fleet to procure a release of that ship; and if that could not be brought to pass, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing such a commerce and correspondence between the fleet and the city, in such a conjuncture of jealousy, that most men believed the parliament would never have hearkened to it; and concluded, from the granting it, that there was another sort of treasure enclosed in that ship, than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers; and that many of those who granted that indulgence to the city, had more money on board that vessel than the cloth was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no less than forty thousand pounds.

Upon this liberty granted by the parliament, a committee was sent from the city with a petition to the prince of Wales, "that he would restore the ship which belonged to his father's good subjects."[1] With these men came letters from some of those who were well known to be very solicitous at that time for the advancement of the king's service, and privy to the treaty with the Scots, and whatever was intended by the earl of Holland: the countess of Carlisle,[2] who was trusted by all that people, and had gotten again confidence with the queen, trusted Mr. Lowe, who was employed by the city in this negociation, to say many things to the prince of the good inclinations of the city, and how necessary it was not to irritate it. And he brought other letters and testimonies to give him credit, as a man trusted by all who intended to serve the king, who had with wonderful address got him to be one of those employed by the city, that he might, under that security, give such animadversions to the prince, and to his counsel, as was necessary. He was a man intelligent enough of the spirit and humour of the city, and very conversant with the nobility and gentry about the town; and though he was trusted by the presbyterian party, as a man entirely addicted to them, he took pains to insinuate himself into many of the king's party, which did believe him fit to be trusted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a man of so voluble a tongue, and so everlasting a talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober man could be imposed upon by him.[3]

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[1] This petition was even more impudent than the *solemn league and covenant.*—W.

[2] As vile a woman as her mistress.—W.

[3] A wise man can never fail of detecting a knave who talks much. —W.

Upon the receipt of this petition, the prince writ a long letter to the city, and enclosed in it a declaration, for the publishing of both which in print care was taken, the substance of which was, "the great affection he bore to the city, and the prosperity thereof;" the whole being in such a style, as might best please the presbyterians, with less care than should have been used to preserve the zeal of the king's party;[1] and desiring, "that they would join with him for the delivery of the king his father out of prison, and to make a good understanding between his majesty and the parliament, which his highness desired with all imaginable concernment." The citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their ship released without a good sum of money, which the prince told them "was absolutely necessary for the payment of the seamen, and he would receive it as a loan from them, and repay it when a peace should be made." So some of them returned to London, and the rest remained with the fleet, coming and going for a month, and driving many bargains for other ships. By this means the prince received advertisement of the Scots continuing their march, and that those who were enclosed in Colchester were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be sure to receive in due time, the earl of Holland being ready to declare as soon as their pressures should require it. After near a month's negociation, there was about twelve thousand pounds paid to the prince, and thereupon that cloth ship was delivered to the merchants, with a general opinion, as hath been said, that there was somewhat else besides cloth in the body of it; for which there was not any search suffered to be made.

Whilst the prince lay in the Downs, there was an enterprise necessary to be made on shore, which did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the fleet from the parliament, and before it set sail for Holland, it had taken one or two of those blockhouses, which are nearest the mouth of the river; and had left some seamen in them, with sufficient provisions to defend themselves till the fleet should return. The prince found these blockhouses besieged, and received intelligence out of them, that their provisions were so near spent, that they could not hold out above so many days. The strength that lay before them consisted more in horse than foot; and at high tide the boats might go so near, that there seemed little difficulty of putting in relief, or to compel the besiegers to rise: and the seamen, having nothing else to do, offered to undertake the service for the redemption of their fellows; many land officers being likewise on board, and some foot soldiers, the prince sent some of those with the seamen to undertake the business; but it had no good issue; the tide was too far spent before it begun; whereby they had more ground to march between their landing and the castle than they imagined, and the horse charged them with such resolution, that many of the men were killed, and more taken prisoners, and the rest forced to their boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the blockhouses at last came into the hands of the enemy; which though of little inconvenience to the prince, those forts being of very small importance to do any prejudice, yet there was some disreputation in it; and it discredited the designs, which had not yet appeared very prosperous in any place; and any access of good fortune raised the spirits of those, who easily were persuaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under some mortification.

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[1] The neglect of the king's party, after the restoration, was only *ingratitude;* but to do it before was egregious folly, as it might have taught them what they were to expect for their loyalty.—W.

By this time another fleet was prepared by the parliament of more and better ships than had revolted, and the command thereof given to the earl of Warwick; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the tide was come within sight of the prince; and there dropped anchor. So that both fleets lay within that distance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a battle; to which there seemed all alacrity in the prince's fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the intelligence that the other was not well manned, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the king; which they would manifest when they came within distance: but whether that fancy was from imagination or intelligence, it seemed to have no foundation in truth.

The earl of Warwick and his fleet appeared resolute and prepared enough for an engagement: yet it was well known, that the earl was privy to the engagement of his brother the earl of Holland, and had promised to join with him. And therefore it was thought fit, that the prince should write to the earl to summon, or invite him to return to his allegiance. This was sent by Harry Seymour, who quickly returned with an answer from the earl, which, in terms of duty enough, humbly besought his highness "to put himself into the hands of the parliament; and that the fleet with him might submit to their obedience; upon which they should be pardoned for their revolt."

Though this might well have satisfied concerning the earl's inclination, yet the prince was prevailed with, that Mr. Crofts might give the earl a visit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having married his aunt, might be able to get a private audience of the earl; which Seymour endeavoured, but could not obtain. But Crofts returned as the other did; and now there wanted only a wind to bring them together, which coming fair for the prince, he resolved to attack them. All anchors were weighed, and preparations made to advance to the assault, the whole fleet being under sail towards the other; which seemed equally resolved and disposed, though the wind, which drove the prince upon them, compelled them a little to retire, where the river was somewhat narrower. In an instant the wind ceased, and there was a calm; so that the prince could not advance; and some doubts arose, upon the narrowing of the river, as if some of his ships might want water in the engagement. In this deliberation the wind rose again, but from another quarter, which was directly in the prince's face; and would not suffer him to move towards the enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the river. Hereupon were new consultations; great want of provisions was discovered to be in the fleet, insomuch as that they should not be able to stay at sea above ten days, and many ships would want sooner, and therefore, since the earl of Warwick, as the wind stood, could not be compelled to fight, and they were in danger to be distressed for provisions, it was thought most counsellable to put to sea; where they could more commodiously engage in a battle, if the earl of Warwick would advance;

and if he did not, there was great reason to hope, that the prince might meet with those ships which were coming from Portsmouth to join with the earl, and which might easily be surprised or taken by the prince's fleet; which was much superior to them in strength.

At this time the earl of Lautherdale arrived in a ship from Scotland; and having left duke Hamilton upon his march towards Berwick, he was sent to demand the performance of the treaty, and that the prince would immediately repair to that army. This confirmed the prince in the purpose of putting out to sea, since it was absolutely necessary to carry the fleet first into Holland, before it could transport him into the northern parts. So the whole fleet went to sea, and continued their course for Holland, with hope still to meet with those ships which were coming from Portsmouth. And meet with them they did in the night; which the prince knew not till the morning; when one put the fault upon another; and it was now necessary to make all possible haste to Holland; since by the conjunction with these ships, besides all other advantages, the earl of Warwick was now become superior in the number, as well as the strength and goodness of his ships; which appeared by his coming before Helvoetsluys, within few days after the prince's arrival there.

It was near the middle of July, when duke Hamilton entered into England with his army, when he came to Carlisle, and immediately took that government from sir Philip Musgrave, and drew out all the English garrison, and put Scots in their place. And after some few days stay there, the English and Scottish forces met at a rendezvous, in the way to Penrith in Cumberland, where Lambert then quartered: and if they had continued their march, as they ought to have done, it is very probable they had broken that body of Lambert's. But the duke would quarter that night two miles short; and Lambert, in the same night, marched from thence in great disorder and confusion to the edge of Yorkshire. The duke rested many days, that all his forces might come up, which came slowly out of Scotland. As soon as they were come up, he marched to Kendal; where he rested again a full fortnight; the reason whereof nobody could imagine. Except it were that those forces which were up in several parts of the kingdom, for the king, might undergo some defeat, that they might not so unite, as to control or obstruct the presbyterian design. For after that army was entered into England, it moved, as hath been said, by such very slow marches, and so negligently, and with so little apprehension of an enemy, and it was quartered at so huge a distance, that the head-quarter was very often twenty miles distant from some part of the army; the duke himself performing no part of the office of a general, but taking his ease, and being wholly governed by David Lesley the lieutenant general of the army, and two or three other officers.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale marched, with his body of English, consisting of near four thousand foot, and seven or eight hundred horse, always a day before the army; by which they intended to have timely advertisement of the enemy's motion, and for which they made no other provision; and likewise meant that he should bear the first brunt of them, desiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of August, when sir Marmaduke Langdale advertised the duke, by an express, "that he had received unquestionable intelligence that Cromwell was within two or three days march, and resolved to engage his army as soon as possibly he could, and that he would not be diverted from it, by the people's gathering together at any distance from him, in what posture soever;" and therefore desired his grace, "that he would keep his army close together; for they could not be far asunder with any security;" and declared, "that he himself would rest, and wait the advance of the enemy, and then retire back as he should find it necessary."

The duke, notwithstanding this advertisement, reformed not the order of his march in any degree, but was persuaded, "that the enemy could not be so near; and that, if Cromwell was advanced to such a distance, it was only with such a party, as he would not presume to engage with their whole army." In this confidence, he marched as he had done before. Sir Marmaduke sent him every day advice that confirmed the former, "and that his horse had encountered some of the enemy, and that their whole body was at hand; but that it was true, it was not a body equal in number to their army, yet all that Cromwell expected was to join battle with him." All this gained not credit, till sir Marmaduke himself, making his retreat with very sharp skirmishes, in which many men fell on both sides, was pursued into the headquarters of the duke; whither he likewise brought with him some prisoners, who averred, that the whole body of the army was within five or six miles, and marched as fast as they were able.

The duke was confounded with the intelligence, and at his wits end knew not what to do: the army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no show of any purpose to fight. In this amazement, the duke stayed himself with some officers at Preston; and caused his foot to be drawn over a bridge, that they might march towards Wiggan, a pretty town in Lancashire, where he should, as he thought, find some regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. In the mean time sir Marmaduke Langdale returned to his troops, the duke having promised to send him some troops to assist, and that some foot should be sent to keep a lane, that would flank his men upon his retreat. Sir Marmaduke retired before the enemy, and drew up his troops into the closes near Preston. The enemy followed him close, and pressed him very hard; notwithstanding which he maintained the dispute for above six hours with great courage, and with very great loss to the enemy in officers, and common soldiers; insomuch as they seemed to retire, at least to make a stand. And in all this time the Scots sent him no assistance, but concluded that it was not Cromwell's whole army that assaulted him, but only some party, which he would himself be well enough able to disengage himself from. And sir Marmaduke Langdale told me often afterwards, "that he verily believed, if one thousand foot had then been sent to him, he should have gained the day:" and Cromwell himself acknowledged, that he never saw foot fight so desperately as they did.

The Scots continued their march over the bridge, without taking any care to secure the lane, which he had recommended to them; by which Cromwell's horse came upon his flank, whilst he was equally pressed in the van. So that his excellent body of foot being broken, sir Marmaduke, and such of his horse as kept together, were driven into the town; where the duke remained yet with some officers; who all retreated over a ford to the foot, who were in equal disorder. For as soon as the English forces were broken, the Scots were presently beaten from the bridge, and forced to a very disorderly march. However, the duke had still his whole army entire; with which he continued to march two or three days till he came to Uxeter; and in all that time many of the Scottish noblemen forsook him, and rendered themselves prisoners to the gentlemen of the country; and Cromwell's troops under Lambert pressed so hard upon the rear, that they killed, and took as many prisoners as they pleased, without hazarding one man of their own. The duke was scarce got into Uxeter, when his troops, which made no resistance, were beaten in upon him, and so close pursued by Cromwell's horse under Lambert, that himself and all the principal officers (some few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the swiftness of their horses, made their escape) were taken prisoners: the duke neither behaving himself like a general, nor a gentleman of courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all submissions, and all the excuses when he was brought to Cromwell that a poor-spirited man could do.

Thus his whole army was routed, and defeated; more killed out of contempt, than that they deserved it by any opposition; the rest taken prisoners, all their cannon and baggage taken, and their colours; only some of their horse, which had been quartered most backward, made haste to carry news to their country of the ill success of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were for the most part taken by the activity of the country, or the horse that pursued them; whereof sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with some of his officers and soldiers, who stood with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, had the ill fortune to be discovered; and was so taken prisoner, and sent to the castle of Nottingham. All this great victory was got by Cromwell with an army amounting to a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminished half a hundred in obtaining this victory, after the English forces under Langdale had been defeated.

The lord Cottington, and the chancellor of the exchequer, had many misadventures;[1] which detained them from attending upon the prince in the fleet. As soon as they heard that his highness had put himself on board a ship at Calais to find the fleet in Holland, they embarked at Dieppe, in a French man of war that was bound for Dunkirk; where when they arrived, they found a gentleman, a servant of the prince's, who informed them, "that the prince was with the whole fleet in the Downs, and that he had sent him with a letter to the marshal Ranzaw, who was governor of Dunkirk, to borrow a frigate of him;" which he had there, and had by some civil message offered to lend to his highness; and the marshal, who received them with great civility, assured them that the frigate should be ready the next day, and, if they pleased to make use of it, should carry them to the prince.

They looked upon it as an excellent opportunity, which would deliver them much sooner at the fleet, than they had before expected to be; and so, without weighing the dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreseen, they embraced the occasion; there being no hazard which they apprehended at sea, but that they might be taken by the parliament ships; which, by the prince's being with his fleet in the Downs, and so being master at sea, was hardly possible. So they unwarily put themselves into that frigate, and set sail in the evening from Dunkirk; presuming that they should, the next morning, find themselves in the Downs with the prince. But there was so dead a calm that night, that they made very little way; and, the next morning, they found that they were chased by six or seven frigates of Ostend. The sum was, that they were taken prisoners, and plundered of all they had, (which amounted to good value in jewels and money,) and were carried into Ostend, where, though they were presently at liberty, they were compelled to stay many days, not without some hope, raised by the civility of the

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[1] These are related at large by the noble historian in his Life.—W.

Spanish governor, and the lords of the admiralty there, who very liberally promised an entire restitution of all that they had lost. But that being without any effect, that brutish people, the freebooters, being subject to no government, they found means to give notice to the prince of all that happened, and that they would attend his command at Flushing; whither they easily went, without being exposed any more to the perils of the sea. Within few days after, the prince, out of the Downs, sent a frigate for them to Flushing; where they embarked several times, and were at sea the whole night, and in the morning driven back by high winds, sometimes into Flushing, sometimes to Ramekins; and so were compelled to go to Middleborough, and after a month's stay in those places, and many attempts to get to sea, they received order from the prince to attend him in Holland, whither he had resolved to go, as soon as the earl of Lautherdale arrived from Scotland in the fleet, and had delivered his imperious invitation for the prince's immediate repair to the Scottish army; which was then entered into England. By this means they came not to the prince, till the next day after he came to the Hague, having left the fleet before Goree and near Helvoetsluys.

The prince was received by the States with all outward respect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge, in the hotel de ville; his royal highness every night lodging in the palace, which belonged to the States too, where the prince of Orange and the princess lay, and where both his royal highness and the duke of York had very good apartments; the prince and duke, after two or three days, always eating with the princess royal, the prince of Orange himself keeping his own table open, according to custom, for the resort of such of the States, or officers of the army, or other noble persons, who frequently repaired thither.

The prince of Wales's court was full of faction, and animosity against each other, so that the new comers were not only very well received by the prince, but very welcome to every body, who being angry with the other counsellors there, believed that matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the Hague, when Herbert the attorney general, who had never loved either of them, came to them, and congratulated their arrival, and told them "how much they had been wanted, and how much prince Rupert longed for their company." And within a very short time after, prince Rupert himself came to bid them welcome, with all possible grace, and profession of great kindness and esteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly against the whole administration of the fleet, in which most part of the court, which had been present, and who agreed in nothing else, concurred with them.

The whole clamour was against the lord Colepepper, and sir Robert Long the prince's secretary, who, by the queen's injunction, was wholly subservient to the lord Colepepper. They accused them of corruption, not only with reference to the cloth ship, but to the release of very many other ships, which they had discharged upon no other reason, but as it would be a very popular thing, and make the prince grateful to the city of London. Though there was much discourse of money brought to both their cabins by Mr. Lowe, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the lord Colepepper, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way; but, having some infirmities, and a multitude of enemies, he was never absolved from any thing of which any man accused him; and the other was so notoriously inclined to that way of husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great riches were parted with, and had been released for little or no money; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it easily believed that such unthrifty counsel could not have been given, except by those who were well rewarded for it; which still fell upon those two.

There was a general murmur that the fleet had lain so long idle at the mouth of the river,[1] when it had been proposed that it might go to the Isle of Wight, where they might, in the consternation the whole kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have released the king; Carisbrook being near the sea, not strong in itself, and without a strong castle, the island well affected, and at that time under no such power as could subdue them. And why such an attempt, which, if unsuccessful, could have been attended with no damage considerable, was not made, was never fully answered.

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[1] It was indeed astonishing. One can give no other reason than what is hinted at p. 2370, that the queen dreaded his coming to Paris. And this was sufficient, while her creatures Colepepper and Long governed the counsels of the fleet.—W.

They were very angry with Batten, and would have it treachery in him, that the two fleets did not fight with each other, when they were so near engaging in the river; which, they said, they might well have done before the wind changed, if he had not dissuaded the prince; and in this the clamour of the seamen joined with them. But it was but clamour, for most dispassionate men gave him a good testimony in that affair, and that he behaved himself like a skilful officer, and was very forward to fight whilst there was reason to effect it. The other reproach upon him, of passing by the ships which came from Portsmouth, in the night, was not so well answered: for it was known, though he said that they were passed by, and out of reach before he was informed of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reasonably enough have been done, out of apprehension, besides the inconvenience of a night engagement, that the noise of the conflict might have called the earl of Warwick out of the river to their assistance, before they could have mastered them; there being two or three of the best ships of the royal navy, which would have made a very notable resistance. But this being never urged by himself, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to his cowardice, of which the seamen, as well as the courtiers, accused him; though, as was generally thought, without reason, and only with prejudice to the man for what he had done before, and because he was a man of a regular and orderly course of life, and command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time raised men to reputation in that county. There was only one man in the council of whom nobody spoke ill, or laid any thing to his charge; and that was the lord Hopton. But there was then such a combination, by the countenance of prince Rupert, with all the other lords of the court, and the attorney general, upon former grudges, to undervalue him,[1] that they had drawn the prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular virtue, and fidelity, and his unquestionable courage, and industry (all which his enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deserve.

This state the court was in, when the two new counsellors came; who quickly discerned, by the unsteady humours and strong passions all men were possessed with, that they should not preserve the reputation they seemed to have with every body for the present, any long time, and foresaw that necessity would presently break in upon them like an armed man, that would disturb and distract all their counsels. And there was, even at the instant in which they arrived at the Hague, the fatal advertisement of that defeat of the Scottish army, which must break all their measures, and render the condition of the prince, and of the whole kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the king his father in the utmost despair.

The rumor of this defeat came to the Hague the next day after the prince came thither, but not so particularly that the extent of it was known, or the tragical effects yet thoroughly understood. And his highness appointing his council to meet together the next morning after the lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer came thither, he informed them of the lord Lautherdale's message to him from the parliament of Scotland, and that he very earnestly pressed him, even since the news of the defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their army; and his highness thought fit, that the earl should give an account of his commission at the board; whereupon he was sent for in; and, that all respect might be shewed to the parliament of Scotland, he had a chair allowed him to sit upon.

He first read his commission from the parliament, and then the letter which the parliament had writ to the prince; in which, having at large magnified the great affection of the parliament, " that out of their native and constant affection and duty to their king, and finding that, contrary to the duty of subjects, his majesty was imprisoned by the traitorous and rebellious army in England, they had raised an army in that kingdom, that, since their advice, counsel, and entreaty in an amicable way, could not prevail, might by force redeem his majesty's person from that captivity; which they held themselves obliged by their solemn league and covenant to endeavour to do, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes: that this army was already entered into England, under the command of James duke Hamilton, whom, in respect of his known and eminent fidelity to his majesty, they had made general thereof; and having now done all that was in their power to do for the present, and having taken due care for the seasonable supply and recruit of that army, they now sent to his highness, that he would with all possible speed, according to the promise which the king his father had made, transport his royal person, that he might himself be in the head of that army to obtain the liberty of his father;" and they desired him, " that for the circumstances of his journey he would be advised by the earl of Lautherdale, to whom they had given full instructions;" and they besought his highness " to give credit to him in all things."

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[1] One may judge from these words of the abandoned characters, and disorderly conduct of the then followers of the royal cause, and how little probability there was that they should ever recover this losing game; while there was but one man amongst them in that place that did honour to the cause, and him all the rest were in a *combination* to discredit.—W.

The earl likewise showed his instructions, by which none of the prince's chaplains were to be admitted to attend him, and great care to be taken, that none but *godly* men should be suffered to be about the person of his highness; and particularly that neither prince Rupert, nor the chancellor of the exchequer, nor some other persons should be permitted to go with the prince. And after all these things were read and enlarged upon, he pressed the prince, with all imaginable instance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their army in England, of which he could not be without particular relation, that he would lose no time from entering upon his journey; and all this with as insolent and supercilious behaviour, as if their army had been triumphant.

When he had said all he meant to say, he sat still, as if he expected to hear what the prince or any body else would say to what he proposed. It was then moved, " that, if he had no more to say, he would withdraw, to the end that the council might debate the matter, before they gave their advice to the prince." He took this motion very ill, and said "he was a privy counsellor to the king in Scotland, and being likewise a commissioner from the parliament, he ought not to be excluded from any debate that concerned the affair upon which he was employed." This he urged in so imperious and offensive a manner, that drew on much sharpness; and the chancellor of the exchequer, who knew him very well since the treaty at Uxbridge, where they had often differed in matters of the highest importance, treated him with the same liberty they had then been accustomed to. He told him, "he meant not to say any thing in that debate, when he should be withdrawn, that he desired should be concealed from him, or unheard by him; and that he was ready to say, that, in his judgment, all he had proposed was very unreasonable; but he would not that the dignity of the board should be prostituted to his demand, nor that he should be present there at any debate." The earl replied, "that he was sent by the parliament and kingdom of Scotland, to the prince of Wales, and that he did protest against having any thing he proposed to be treated, and debated by, or before the English board; nor did he consider what was or should be said, by any man but the prince himself." The prince told him, "it was necessary that he himself should hear, and know what the opinion of the council should be; and that it was as unreasonable that he should be present;" and thereupon commanded him to withdraw; which he presently submitted to with indecency enough. The prince then told them, "that there were some persons come to the town, the last night, who came out of England after the news of the victory over the Scots came to London, with all the circumstances thereof; and of the duke's being taken prisoner;" and that the prince of Orange had told him, "that the States had received intelligence of it from their ambassador Newport, who resided in London." Upon the whole matter, the prince resolved "to meet again the next morning to consult further what he was to do, and that, in the mean time, the intelligence would be more perfect, and unquestionable, and they should see whether Lautherdale would take any notice of it."

But the night made no alteration in him; he appeared the next morning with the same confidence, and the same importunity for the prince to remove, and begin his journey. He was asked, " whether he had received no information of some ill fortune, that had befallen that army, which might so change the case since he left Scotland, that what might then have been fit, would be now unfit and uncounsellable?" The earl said, "he knew well what the news was from England; and whatever he hoped, that he was not confident it was not true: however he hoped, that would not change the prince's purpose, but that it would more concern him to pursue the resolution he was formerly obliged to; that if any misfortune had befallen that army, the prince had the more reason to endeavour to repair it; which could be done no other way, than by his making all possible haste into Scotland; which remained still a kingdom entire, wholly devoted to his service; and that, by the benefit of his presence, might quickly draw together another army, towards which there was a good beginning already by the preservation of that body under Monroe: that if his highness should decline this only probable way to preserve himself, and to recover his other two kingdoms, it would be thought he had little zeal for the liberty of his father, and as little for his own interest, and for the preservation of the crown: he therefore besought his highness, that he would cause some of his ships to be forthwith made ready, and would therein immediately transport himself into Scotland; whereby the late wound would, in a short time, be healed; which would otherwise prove incurable."

But Scotland was so well known, and the power of Argyle, (which must be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary party,) that his proposition was by all dispassionate men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearkened to: and the news from London, that Cromwell was marched into Scotland with his whole army, confirmed every honest man in that opinion. And within few days the earl of Lautherdale seemed rather to think of going thither himself, where his own concernments were in great danger, than of pressing the prince to so hazardous a voyage; and after a few weeks more stay at the Hague, upon the intelligence from his friends in Scotland, how affairs went there, he returned thither in the same ship that transported him from thence, with as much rage and malice against the council about the prince, as against Cromwell himself.

The wonderful defeat of the Scottish army at Preston, though it was not at first believed to be an entire victory over their whole body, there being double that number that was not there or that marched from thence, broke or disappointed most of the designs which were on foot for raising men, in those northern counties, for the king's service, to have joined and united under sir Marmaduke Langdale. Sir Thomas Tildesly, a gentleman of a fair estate, who had served the king from the beginning of the war with good courage, was then with a body of English, with which he had besieged the castle of Lancaster, and was upon the point of reducing it, when the news of Preston arrived. It was then necessary to quit that design; and hearing that major general Monroe, who, shortly after the duke marched out of Scotland, followed him with a recruit of above six thousand horse and foot, was come to the skirts of Lancashire, he retired thither to him, having gathered up many of sir Marmaduke Langdale's men, who had been broken at Preston, and some others who had been newly levied. Sir Thomas Tildesly moved Monroe, "that his forces, and some regiments of Scots, who yet remained about Kendal, might join with the English under his command, and march together towards Preston, and follow Cromwell in the rear, as he pursued the Scots:" which they might very well have done, being a body, when in conjunction, of above eight thousand men; which was superior in number to the army under Cromwell. But the major general would not consent to the motion, but retired to the further part of Westmoreland; and the English followed them in the rear; presuming, that though they would not be persuaded to advance after Cromwell, yet that they would choose some other more convenient post to make a stand in, if the enemy followed them; and then that they would be glad to join with them: to which he was pressed again the next day, but continued still fast in his sullen resolution, without declaring what he meant to do; and retired through Cumberland, where he had left a sad remembrance of his having passed that way a few days before, having then raised vast sums of money upon the poor people, and now in his retreat plundered almost all they had left.

The English marched into the bishopric of Durham, to join with such new levies as were then raising there; and their number being increased by the addition of those troops which were under the command of sir Henry Bellingham, they met again major general Monroe in Northumberland, and desired him, "that they might unite together against the common enemy, who equally desired the destruction of them both." But he resolutely refused, and told them plainly, "that he would march directly into Scotland, and expect orders there;" which he did with all possible expedition.

Sir Philip Musgrave believed that he and his foot might be welcome to Carlisle; and went thither; and sent sir Henry Bellingham, sir Robert Strickland, and colonel Chater, to the earl of Lanrick, and offered that they should carry their troops into Scotland to join with him; who he knew well would stand in need of help. But he durst not accept their motion, saying, "if he should, Argyle would from thence take an excuse to invite Cromwell;" who they heard was then upon his march towards Berwick, to bring his army into Scotland: upon which sir Henry Bellingham returned with the party he commanded into Cumberland, paying for all they had through that part of Scotland it was necessary for them to pass through.

Sir Philip Musgrave had no better success with sir William Levingston, the governor of Carlisle; for though he received him very civilly, and entered into a treaty with him, (for he knew well enough that he was not able to victual or defend the place without the assistance of the English, and therefore desired the assistance of sir Philip in both,) yet when articles were agreed upon, and signed by sir Philip Musgrave, the governor fell back, and refused to engage himself "not to deliver up the garrison without the consent of sir Philip Musgrave;" who was contented that none of his men should come within the walls, until it should be most apparent, that they could no longer keep the field.

Within a short time after, orders were sent out of Scotland for the delivery of Berwick and Carlisle to the parliament; in which orders there was not the least mention of making conditions for the English. Sir Philip Musgrave had yet Appleby castle in his own possession, having taken it after he had delivered Carlisle to duke Hamilton, and after he was marched from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made conditions for himself, and one hundred and fifty officers, many of them gentlemen of quality, who lived again to venture, and some to lose, their lives for the king: after which, he soon transported himself into Holland.

Cromwell resolved to lose no advantage he had got, but as soon as he had perfected his defeat of duke Hamilton, by gathering up as many prisoners as he could of the dispersed troops, he marched directly towards Scotland, to pull up the roots there, from which any further trouble might spring hereafter; though he was very earnestly called upon from Yorkshire to reduce those at Pontefract castle which grew very formidable to all their neighbours; and, not satisfied with drawing contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made excursions into places at a great distance, and took divers substantial men prisoners, and carried them to the castle; where they remained till they redeemed themselves by great ransoms. However, he would not defer his northern march; but believing that he should be in a short time capable to take vengeance upon those affronts, he satisfied himself in sending colonel Rainsborough, with some troops of horse and foot, to restrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up; and himself, with the rest of his army, continued their march for Scotland, it being about the end of August, or beginning of September, before the harvest of that country was yet ripe; and so capable of being destroyed.

It was generally believed, that the marquis of Argyle earnestly invited him to this progress; for the defeat of the Scottish army in England had not yet enough made him master of Scotland. There was still a committee of parliament sitting at Edinburgh, in which, and in the council, the earl of Lanrick swayed without a rival; and the troops which had been raised under Monroe for the recruit of the duke's army, were still together, and at the earl's devotion; so that the marquis was still upon his good behaviour. If he did not invite Cromwell, he was very glad of his coming; and made all possible haste to bid him welcome upon his entering into the kingdom. They made great shows of being mutually glad to see each other, being linked together by many promises, and professions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

There was no act of hostility committed; Cromwell declaring, "that he came with his army to preserve the godly party, and to free the kingdom from a force, which it was under, of malignant men, who had forced the nation to break the friendship with their brethren of England, who had been so faithful to them: that it having pleased God to defeat that army under duke Hamilton, who endeavoured to engage the two nations in each other's blood, he was come thither to prevent any further mischief, and to remove those from authority who had used their power so ill; and that he hoped he should, in very few days, return with an assurance of the brotherly affection of that kingdom to the parliament of England; which did not desire in any degree to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges." He was conducted to Edinburgh by the marquis of Argyle, where he was received with all solemnity, and the respect due to the deliverer of their country, and his army quartered about, and supplied with all provisions the country could yield.

The earl of Lanrick, and all the Hamiltonian faction, (that is, all who had a mind to continue of it,) were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remained at Edinburgh were resolved to obey Argyle; who they saw could protect them. There were then enough left of the committee of parliament to take care of the safety and good of the kingdom, without putting Cromwell to help them by the power of the English; which would have been a great discredit to their government. Whilst he remained their guest, (whom they entertained magnificently,) Argyle was able, by the laws of Scotland, to reform all that was amiss, and preserve the government upon the true foundation. So the committee of parliament sent to Monroe an order and command to disband his troops; which when he seemed resolved not to do, he quickly discerned that Cromwell must be arbitrator; and thereupon he observed the orders of the committee very punctually: so that there was no power in Scotland that could oppose the command of Argyle; the committee of parliament, the council, all the magistrates of Edinburgh, were at his devotion; and whoever were not so, were either in prison, or fled. The pulpits were full of invectives against the sinfulness of the late engagement, and solemn fasts enjoined by the assembly to implore God's pardon and forgiveness for that heinous transgression; the chancellor Lowden giving the good example, by making his recantation and humble submission with many tears. Cromwell had reason to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a kingdom as he could wish; and having therefore concerted all things with his bosom friend Argyle, (who resolved, as soon as he was withdrawn a distance from Edinburgh, that he and his army might not be thought to have an influence upon the councils, to call the parliament to confirm all he should think fit to do,) he returned for England; where he thought his presence was like to be wanted.

The committee of parliament at Edinburgh (who had authority to convene the parliament when the major part of them should please; care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were such as were thought most like to pursue the way they were entered into) sent out their summons to call the parliament. They who appeared, were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the same passion and zeal with which they had entered into the engagement, they now declared it unlawful and ungodly; and the assembly joining with them, they excommunicated all who had the most eminent parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any office in the state, or of sitting in council, or in parliament; subjecting those who had sinned in a less degree, to such penalties as would for ever make them subject to their government. By these judgments, amongst others, the earl of Lanrick was deprived of being secretary of state, and that office was conferred upon the earl of Lothian; who, in the beginning of the rebellion, had been employed by the conspirators into France, and coming afterwards into England was imprisoned thereupon, and being after set at liberty continued amongst those who, upon all occasions, carried the rebellion highest, and shewed the most implacable malice to the person of the king. And by this time Argyle was become so much more master of Scotland than Cromwell was of England, that he had not so much as the shadow of a parliament to contend, or to comply with, or a necessity to exercise his known great talent of dissimulation, all men doing as he enjoined them, without asking the reason of his direction.

When the earl of Norwich and the lord Capel with the Kentish and Essex troops were enclosed in Colchester, their friends could not reasonably hope that the Scottish army, which had so long deferred their march into England, contrary to their promise, would, though they were now come in, march fast enough to relieve Colchester before they should be reduced by famine. The earl of Holland thought it necessary, since many who were in Colchester had engaged themselves upon his promises and authority, now to begin his enterprise; to which the youth and warmth of the duke of Buckingham, who was general of the horse, the lord Francis Villiers his brother, and divers other young noblemen, spurred him on. And he might have the better opinion of his interest and party, in that his purpose of rising, and putting himself into arms for the relief of Colchester, was so far from being a secret, that it was the common discourse of the town. There was a great appearance every morning, at his lodging, of those officers who were known to have served the king; his commissions shewed in many hands; no question being more commonly asked, than "when doth my lord Holland go out?" and the answer was, "such and such a day;" and the hour he did take horse, when he was accompanied by an hundred horse from his house, was publicly talked of two or three days before.

His first rendezvous was at Kingston upon Thames; where he stayed two nights, and one whole day, expecting a great resort to him, not only of officers, but of common men, who had promised, and listed themselves under several officers; and he imputed the security he had enjoyed so long, notwithstanding his purpose was so generally known, to the apprehension both the parliament and the army had of the affections of the city to join with him; and he believed, that he should not only remain secure at Kingston, as long as he should think fit to stay there, but that some entire regiments of the city would march out with him for the relief of Colchester.

During the short stay he made at Kingston, some officers and soldiers, both of horse and foot, came thither, and many persons of honour and quality, in their coaches, came to visit him and his company from London; and returned thither again to provide what was still wanting, and resolved to be with him soon enough. The principal officer the earl relied upon (though he had better) was Dalbeer a Dutchman, of name and reputation, and good experience in war; who had served the parliament as commissary general of the horse under the earl of Essex, and having been left out in the new model, was amongst those discontented officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged of the army; which they despised for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus Dalbeer was glad to depend upon the earl of Holland, who thought himself likewise happy in such an officer. The keeping good guards, and sending out parties towards the Kentish parts, where it was known some troops remained since the last commotion there, was committed to his care. But he discharged it so ill, or his orders were so ill observed, that the second or third morning after their coming to Kingston, some of the parliament's foot, with two or three troops of colonel Rich's horse, eminent for praying, but of no fame for fighting, fell into the town before those within had notice to be ready to receive them; the earl and most of the rest making too much haste out of town, and never offering to charge those troops. In this confusion the lord Francis Villiers, a youth of rare beauty and comeliness of person, not being upon his horse so soon as the rest, or endeavouring to make resistance, was unfortunately killed, with one or two more but of little note. Most of the foot made a shift to conceal themselves, and some officers, until they found means to retire to their close mansions in London. The earl with near an hundred horse (the rest wisely taking the way to London, where they were never inquired after) wandered without purpose or design, and was, two or three days after, beset in an inn at St. Neots in Huntingtonshire, by those few horse who pursued him, where the earl delivered himself prisoner to the officer without resistance: yet at the same time Dalbeer and Kenelm Digby, the eldest son of sir Kenelm, were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges, or that they offered to defend themselves, was not known; and the duke of Buckingham had severed himself before from them, and happily found a way into London; where he lay concealed, till he had an opportunity to secure himself by being transported into Holland; where the prince was; who received him with great grace and kindness. The earl of Holland remained prisoner in the place where he was taken, till by order from the parliament he was sent to Windsor castle, where, notwithstanding he was constable of it, he was kept prisoner with great strictness.

The total defeat of the Scottish army lately mentioned succeeded this, and when those noble persons within Colchester were advertised of both, they knew well that there was no possibility of relief, nor could they expect it longer, being pressed with want of all kind of victual, and having eaten near all their horses. They sent therefore to Fairfax, to treat about the delivery of the town upon reasonable conditions; but he refused to treat, or give any conditions, if they would not render to mercy all the officers and gentlemen; the common soldiers he was contented to dismiss. A day or two was spent in deliberation. They within proposed "to make a brisk sally; and thereby to shift for themselves, as many as could." But they had too few horse, and the few that were left uneaten were too weak for that enterprise. Then, "that they should open a port, and every man die with their arms in their hands;" but that way they could only be sure of being killed, without much hurting their adversaries, who had ways enough securely to assault them. Hereupon, they were in the end obliged to deliver themselves up prisoners at mercy; and were, all the officers and gentlemen, led into the public hall of the town; where they were locked up, and a strong guard set upon them. They were required presently to send a list of all their names to the general; which they did; and, within a short time after, a guard was sent to bring sir Charles Lucas, and sir George Lisle, and sir Bernard Gascoigne to the general, being sat with his council of war. They were carried in, and in a very short discourse told, "that after so long and so obstinate a defence until they found it necessary to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was necessary, for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might be no more disturbed in that manner, that some military justice should be executed; and therefore, that council had determined they three should be presently shot to death;" for which they were advised to prepare themselves; and without considering, or hearing what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were led into a yard that was contiguous; where they found three files of musketeers ready for their despatch.

Sir Bernard Gascoigne was a gentleman of Florence; and had served the king in the war, and afterwards remained in London till the unhappy adventure of Colchester, and then accompanied his friends thither; and had only English enough to make himself understood, that he desired a pen and ink and paper, that he might write a letter to his prince the great duke, that his highness might know in what manner he lost his life, to the end his heirs might possess his estate. The officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the general and council, without which he durst not allow him pen and ink, which he thought he might reasonably demand: when they were informed of it, they thought it a matter worthy some consideration; they had chosen him out of the list for his quality, conceiving him to be an English gentleman, and preferred him for being a knight, that they might sacrifice three of that rank.

This delay brought the news of this bloody resolution to the prisoners in the town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the lord Capel prevailed with an officer, or soldier, of their guard, to carry a letter, signed by the chief persons and officers, and in the name of the rest, to the general; in which they took notice of that judgment, and desired him "either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with those three, undergo the same sentence with them." The letter was delivered, but had no other effect than the sending to the officer to despatch his order, reserving the Italian to the last. Sir Charles Lucas was their first work; who fell dead; upon which sir George Lisle ran to him, embraced him, and kissed him; and then stood up, and looked those who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they stood at too great a distance, spake to them to come nearer; to which one of them said, "I'll warrant you, sir, we'll hit you:" he answered smiling, "Friends, I have been nearer you, when you have missed me." Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, so that he fell down dead of many wounds without speaking word. Sir Bernard Gascoigne had his doublet off, and expected the next turn; but the officer told him "he had order to carry him back to his friends;" which at that time was very indifferent to him. The council of war had considered, that if they should in this manner have taken the life of a foreigner, who seemed to be a person of quality, their friends or children who should visit Italy might pay dear for many generations; and therefore they commanded the officer, "when the other two should be dead, to carry him back again to the other prisoners."

The two who were thus murdered were men of great name and esteem in the war; the one being held as good a commander of horse, and the other of foot, as the nation had; but of very different tempers and humours. Lucas was the younger brother of the lord Lucas, and his heir both to the honour and estate, and had a present fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low Countries, and always amongst the horse. He had little conversation in that court, where great civility was practised, and learned. He was very brave in his person, and in a day of battle a gallant man to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and places, of a nature not to be lived with, of an ill understanding, of a rough and proud nature, which made him during the time of their being in Colchester more intolerable than the siege, or any fortune that threatened them; yet they all desired to accompany him in his death. Lisle was a gentleman who had had the same education with the other, and at the same time an officer of foot; had all the courage of the other, and led his men to a battle with such an alacrity, that no man was ever better followed; his soldiers never forsaking him; and the party which he commanded, never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceness of courage he had the softest and most gentle nature imaginable; loved all, and beloved of all, and without a capacity to have an enemy.

The manner of taking the lives of these worthy men was new, and without example, and concluded by most men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to Ireton, who swayed the general, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody nature. As soon as this bloody sacrifice was ended, Fairfax, with the chief officers, went to the town-house to visit the prisoners; and the general (who was an ill orator on the most plausible occasion) applied with his civility to the earl of Norwich, and the lord Capel; and, seeming in some degree to excuse the having done that, which he said "the military justice required," he told them, "that all the lives of the rest were safe; and that they should be well treated, and disposed of as the parliament should direct." The lord Capel had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caused it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, "that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to the rest;" upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton, that cost him his life in few months after. When the general had given notice to the parliament of his proceedings, he received order to send the earl of Norwich and the lord Capel to Windsor castle; where they had afterwards the society of the earl of Holland, to lament each other's misfortunes; and after some time they were all sent to the Tower.

Though the city had undergone so many severe mortifications, that it might very well have been discouraged from entering into any more dangerous engagements, at least all other people might have been terrified from depending again upon such engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recovered new spirits for new undertakings; and seemed always to have observed somewhat in the last miscarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obstruct their future proceedings; and many in the parliament, as well as in the city, who were controlled and dispirited by the presence of the army, when that was at a distance appeared resolute, and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their counsels. So that Cromwell had no sooner begun his march towards the north, and Fairfax his into Kent, but the common council delivered a petition to the parliament, "that they would entertain a personal treaty with the king, that the kingdom might be restored again to a happy peace; which could be hoped for no other way." This was the first presumption that had been offered, since their vote of no more addresses to be made to the king; which had been near half a year before; and this seemed to be made with so universal a concurrence of the city, that the parliament durst not give a positive refusal to it. And in truth the major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made sir Harry Vane, and that party in the parliament to which the army adhered, or rather which adhered to the army, to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it by seeming to consent to it, rather than to oppose the motion. And therefore they appointed a committee of the house of commons, to meet with such a committee of the common council, as they should make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the king's safety and security during the time of the treaty: which committee being met together, that of the house of commons perplexed the other with many questions, "what they meant by those expressions, they used in their petition," (and had been the common expressions, long used both by the king and the parliament, in all applications which had concerned a treaty,) "that his majesty might treat with honour, freedom, and safety? what they intended by those words? and whether the city would be at the charge in maintaining those guards, which were to be kept for the security of the king during such treaty; and if the king should in that treaty refuse to give the parliament satisfaction, how his person should be disposed of?" and many such questions, to which they well knew that the committee itself could make no answer, but that there must be another common council called, to which they must repair for directions. And by this means, and administering new questions at every meeting, much time was spent, and the delays they wished could not be avoided. So that notwithstanding all their clamours that the treaty might be presently entered upon, much time was spent, and the insurrection in Kent, and the designs of the earl of Holland (to both which they had promised another kind of assistance) were both disappointed, and expired. However, the prince was still in the Downs with his fleet, and the gentlemen in Colchester defended themselves resolutely, and the Scottish army was entered the kingdom, all which kept up their courage; insomuch as, after all the delays, the parliament consented, and declared, "that they would enter into a personal treaty with the king for the settling the peace of the kingdom; but that the treaty should be in the Isle of Wight, where his Majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety."

The city had offered before to the committee upon some of the questions which had been administered to them, "that if the treaty might be in London, they would be at the charge of maintaining those guards which should be necessary for the safety and security of the king;" and therefore they were very much troubled, that the treaty should be now in the Isle of Wight, upon which they could have no influence; yet they thought not fit to make any new instances for change of the place, lest the parliament might recede from their vote, that there should be a treaty entered upon. So they only renewed their importunity, that all expedition might be used; and, in spite of all delays, in the beginning of August a committee was sent from both houses to the king to Carisbrook castle, where he had been close shut up about half a year, without being suffered to speak with any but such who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him.

The message the committee delivered was, "that the houses did desire a treaty with his majesty, in what place of the Isle of Wight he would appoint, upon the propositions tendered to him at Hampton Court, and such other propositions, as they should cause to be presented to him; and that his majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety to his person." The messengers, who were one of the house of peers and two commoners, were to return within ten days, nobody being strict in the limitation of time, because the treaty was so much the longer kept off, which they hoped still would by some accident be prevented.

The king received them very graciously, and told them, "they could not believe that any man could desire a peace more heartily than himself, because no man suffered so much by the want of it: that, though he was without any man to consult with, and without a secretary to write what he should dictate, yet they should not be put to stay long for an answer;" which he gave them within two or three days, all written in his own hand; in which, after he had lamented his present condition, and the extreme restraint he was under, he said, "he did very cheerfully embrace their motion, and accepted a treaty they promised should be with honour, freedom, and safety; which he hoped they did really intend should be performed; for that, in the condition he was in, he was so totally ignorant and uninformed of the present state of all his dominions, that a blind man was as fit to judge of colours, as he was to treat concerning the peace of the kingdom, except they would first revoke their votes, and orders, by which all men were prohibited and forbid to come, write, or speak to him. For the place, he could have wished, for the expedition that would have resulted from thence, that it might have been in or near London, to the end that the parliament's resolution and determination might have been sooner known upon any emergent occasion that might have grown in the treaty, than it could be at such a distance: however, since they had resolved that it should be in the Isle of Wight, he would not except against it, but named the town of Newport for the place of the treaty." He said, "though he desired all expedition might be used towards the beginning and ending the treaty, yet he should not think himself in any freedom to treat, except, before the treaty begun, all such persons might have liberty to repair to him, whose advice and assistance he should stand in need of in the treaty." He sent a list of the names of those his servants which he desired might be admitted to come to him, and attend upon him; whereof the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, were the chief; all four gentlemen of his bedchamber, and of his privy council. He named likewise all the other servants, whose attendance he desired in their several offices. He sent a list of the names of several bishops, and of such of his chaplains, as he desired to confer with, and of many common lawyers, and some civilians, whose advice he might have occasion to use, and desired, " that he might be in the same state of freedom, as he enjoyed whilst he had been at Hampton Court."

By the time that the commissioners returned from the Isle of Wight, and delivered this answer to the parliament, news was brought of the defeat of the Scottish army, and Cromwell had written to his friends, " what a perpetual ignominy it would be to the parliament, that nobody abroad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they should recede from their former vote and declaration of no further addresses to the king, and conjured them to continue firm in that resolution." But they had gone too far now to recede, and since the first motion and petition from the common council for a treaty, very many members, who had opposed the vote and declaration of no more addresses, and from the time that had passed, had forborne ever to be present in the parliament, upon the first mention of a treaty, flocked again to the house, and advanced that overture ; so that they were much superior in number to those who endeavoured first to obstruct and delay, and now hoped absolutely to frustrate all that had been towards a treaty. And the great victory which had been obtained against the Scots, and which they concluded must speedily reduce Colchester, and put a quick period to all other attempts against the parliament, made them more earnest and solicitous for a treaty ; which was all the hope left to prevent that confusion they discerned was the purpose of the army to bring upon the kingdom : and so with the more vigour they pressed " that satisfaction might be given to the king, in all that he had proposed in his answer ;" and, notwithstanding all opposition, it was declared, " that the vote for no more addresses should stand repealed : that the treaty should be at Newport ; and that his majesty should be there in the same freedom in which he was at Hampton Court ; that the instructions to colonel Hammond, by which the king had been in that manner restrained, and all persons restrained from going to him, should be recalled ; that all those persons who were named by the king, should have free liberty to repair to him, and to remain with him without being questioned, or troubled." And having proceeded thus far, they nominated a committee of five lords and ten commoners to be the commissioners who should treat with the king, and who were enjoined to prepare all things to be in readiness for the treaty with all possible expedition; but the lord Say and sir Harry Vane being two of those commissioners, used all their arts to obstruct and delay it, in hope that Cromwell would despatch his affairs in Scotland time enough to return, and to use more effectual and powerful arguments against it, than they were furnished withal.

All these occurrences were very well known to Cromwell, and were the motives which persuaded him to believe that his presence at the parliament was so necessary to suppress the presbyterians, who ceased not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be prevailed with to stay and finish that only work of difficulty that remained to be done, which was the reducing Pontefract castle; but left Lambert to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of Rainsborough, who had lost his life by that garrison, with some circumstances which deserve to be remembered; as in truth all that adventure in the taking and defending that place, should be preserved by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the persons who were engaged in it.

When the war had been brought to an end by the reduction of all places, and persons, which had held for the king, and all men's hopes had been rendered desperate, by the imprisonment of his majesty in the Isle of Wight, those officers and gentlemen who had served, whilst there was any service, betook themselves generally to the habitations they had in the several counties; where they lived quietly and privately, under the insolence of those neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their conditions, submitted to them. When the parliament had finished the war, they reduced and slighted most of the inland garrisons, the maintenance whereof was very chargeable; yet by the interest of some person who commanded it, or out of the consideration of the strength and importance of the place, they kept still a garrison in Pontefract castle, a noble royalty and palace belonging to the crown, and then part of the queen's jointure. The situation in itself was very strong; no part whereof was commanded by any other ground: the house very large, with all offices suitable to a princely seat, and though built very near the top of a hill, so that it had the prospect of a great part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and of Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire, yet it was plentifully supplied with water. Colonel Cotterell, the governor of this garrison, exercised a very severe jurisdiction over his neighbours of those parts; which were inhabited by many gentlemen, and soldiers, who had served the king throughout the war, and who were known to retain their old affections, though they lived with all submission to the present government. Upon the least jealousy or humour, these men were frequently sent for, reproached, and sometimes imprisoned by the governor in this garrison; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared some hopes that the Scots would raise an army for the relief and release of the king, sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his way for Scotland, had visited and conferred with some of his old friends and countrymen, who now lived quietly within some distance of Pontefract, who informed him of that garrison, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the assurance he had of the resolution of the principal persons of the kingdom of Scotland, and that they had invited him to join with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, " that, when it should appear that an army was raised in Scotland upon that account, which must draw down the parliament's army into the other northern counties, and that there should be risings in other parts of the kingdom," (which the general indisposition and discontent, besides some particular designs, made like to fall out,) " that then those gentlemen should endeavour the surprise of that castle, and after they had made themselves strong in it, and provided it with provisions to endure some restraint, they should draw as good a body to them as those countries would yield:" and having thus adjusted that design, they settled such a way of correspondence with sir Marmaduke, that they frequently gave him an account, and received his directions for their proceeding. In this disposition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the governor of the castle lived towards them with less jealousy, and more humanity, than he had been accustomed to.

There was one colonel Morrice, who, being a very young man, had, in the beginning of the war, been an officer in some regiments of the king's; and, out of the folly and impatience of his youth, had quitted that service, and engaged himself in the parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable; and by the clearness of his courage, and pleasantness of his humour, made himself not only very acceptable, but was preferred to the command of a colonel, and performed many notable services for them, being a stout and bold undertaker in attempts of the greatest danger; wherein he had usually success. After the new modelling of the army, and the introducing of a stricter discipline, his life of great licence kept not his reputation with the new officers; and being a free speaker and censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new army, but with many professions of kindness, and respect to his eminent courage, which they would find some occasion to employ, and reward. He was a gentleman of a competent estate in those parts in Yorkshire; and as he had grown elder, he had heartily detested himself for having quitted the king's service, and had resolved to take some seasonable opportunity to wipe off that blemish by a service that would redeem him; and so was not troubled to be set aside by the new general, but betook himself to his estate; enjoyed his old humour, which was cheerful and pleasant; and made himself most acceptable to those who were most trusted by the parliament; who thought that they had dismissed one of the best officers they had, and were sorry for it.

He now, as a country gentleman, frequented the fairs and markets, and conversed with equal freedom with all his neighbours, of what party soever they had been, and renewed the friendship he had formerly held with some of those gentlemen who had served the king. But no friendship was so dear to him, as that of the governor of Pontefract castle, who loved him above all men, and delighted so much in his company, that he got him to be with him sometimes a week and more at a time in the castle, when they always lay together in one bed. He declared to one of those gentlemen, who were united together to make that attempt, "that he would surprise that castle, whenever they should think the season ripe for it;" and that gentleman, who knew him very well, believed him so entirely, that he told his companions, " that they should not trouble themselves with contriving the means to surprise the place; which, by trusting too many, would be liable to discovery; but that he would take that charge upon himself, by a way they need not inquire into; which he assured them should not fail:" and they all very willingly acquiesced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. Morrice was more frequently with the governor, who never thought himself well without him; and always told him " he must have a great care of his garrison, that he had none but faithful men in the castle; for that he was confident there were some men who lived not far off, and who many times came to visit him, had some design upon the place;" and would then in confidence name many persons to him, some whereof were those very men with whom he communicated, and others were men of another temper, and were most devoted to the parliament, all his particular friends and companions; " but that he should not be troubled; for he had a false brother amongst them, from whom he was sure to have seasonable advertisement;" and promised him, " that he would, within few hours notice, bring him at any time forty or fifty good men into the castle to reinforce his garrison, when there should be occasion:" and he would shew him the list of such men, as would be always ready, and would sometimes bring some of those men with him, and tell the governor before them, " that those were in the list he had given him of the honest fellows, who would stick to him when there should be need;" and others would accidentally tell the governor, " that they had listed themselves with colonel Morrice to come to the castle, whenever he should call or send to them." And all these men thus listed, were fellows very notorious for the bitterness and malice which they had always against the king, not one of which he ever intended to make use of.

He made himself very familiar with all the soldiers in the castle, and used to play and drink with them; and, when he lay there, would often rise in the night, and visit the guards; and by that means would sometimes make the governor dismiss and discharge a soldier whom he did not like, under pretence, "that he found him always asleep," or some other fault which was not to be examined; and then he would commend some other to him as very fit to be trusted and relied upon; and by this means he had very much power in the garrison. The governor received several letters from his friends in the parliament, and in the country, "that he should take care of colonel Morrice, who resolved to betray him;" and informed him, "that he had been in such and such company of men, who were generally esteemed most malignant, and had great intrigues with them;" all which was well known to the governor; for the other was never in any of that company, though with all the show of secrecy, in the night, or in places remote from any house, but he always told the governor of it, and of many particular passages in those meetings; so that when these letters came to him, he shewed them still to the other; and then both of them laughed at the intelligence; after which Morrice frequently called for his horse, and went home to his house, telling his friend, "that though he had, he knew, no mistrust of his friendship, and knew him too well to think him capable of such baseness, yet he ought not for his own sake be thought to slight the information; which would make his friends the less careful of him: that they had reason to give him warning of those meetings, which, if he had not known himself, had been very worthy of his suspicion; therefore he would forbear coming to the castle again, till this jealousy of his friends should be over; who would know of this, and be satisfied with it:" and no power of the governor could prevail with him, at such times, to stay; but he would be gone, and stay away till he was, after some time, sent for again with great importunity, the governor desiring his counsel and assistance as much as his company.

It fell out, as it usually doth in affairs of that nature, when many men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be thoroughly ripe. The business of the fleet, and in Kent, and other places, and the daily alarms from Scotland, as if that army had been entering the kingdom, made the gentlemen who were engaged for this enterprise imagine that they deferred it too long, and that though they had received no orders from sir Marmaduke Langdale, which they were to expect, yet they had been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon they called upon the gentleman who had undertaken, and he upon Morrice, for the execution of the design. The time agreed upon was such a night, when the surprisers were to be ready upon such a part of the wall, and to have ladders to mount in two places, where two soldiers were to be appointed for sentinels who were privy to the attempt. Morrice was in the castle, and in bed with the governor, and, according to his custom, rose about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without made the sign agreed upon, and were answered by one of the sentinels from the wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their ladders. By some accident, the other sentinel who was designed was not upon the other part of the wall; so that when the ladder was mounted there, the sentinel called out; and finding that there were men under the wall, run towards the court of guard to call for help; and in his way met Morrice, who, finding him to be a wrong soldier, seemed not to believe him, but took him back with him to shew him the place, and carried him to the top of the wall, nearer, that they might listen; and from thence, being a very strong man, he made a shift to throw the soldier over the wall: and by this time they from without were got upon the wall from both places, and had made their signs to their friends at a distance. With these Morrice went to the court of guard, which was in part prepared, so that with knocking two or three of the other in the head, they became masters there, and opened the port for their friends' horse and foot to enter. Morrice, with two or three gentlemen, went to the governor's chamber, whom they found in his bed, and told him, "the castle was surprised, and himself a prisoner." He betook himself to his arms for his defence, but quickly found that his friend had betrayed it, and the other gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warned, his defence was to no purpose, yet he received some wounds. Morrice comforted him with assurance "of good usage, and that he would procure his pardon from the king for his rebellion."

They put the garrison in good order, and so many came to them from Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Lincoln, that they could not in a short time be restrained, and had leisure to to fetch in all sorts of provisions for their support, and to make and renew such fortifications as might be necessary for their defence. From Nottingham there came sir John Digby, sir Hugh Cartwright, and a son and nephew of his, who had been good officers in the army, with many soldiers who had been under their command; many other gentlemen of the three counties were present, and deserve to have their names recorded, since it was an action throughout of great courage and conduct.

Cromwell's marching towards the Scots with the neglect of these men after their first appearance, and only appointing some county troops to enclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that driving those troops to a greater distance, they drew contribution from all the parts about them, and made incursions much further, and rendered themselves so terrible, that, as was said before, after the Scots' defeat, those of Yorkshire sent very earnestly to Cromwell, "that he would make it the business of his army to reduce Pontefract." But he, resolving upon his Scottish expedition, thought it enough to send Rainsborough to perform that service, with a regiment of horse, and one or two of foot, belonging to the army; which, with a conjunction of the country forces under the same command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work. As soon as the castle had been reduced, they who were possessed of it were very willing to be under the command of Morrice; who declared he would not accept the charge, nor be governor of the place, knowing well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of fortune, but under the direction of sir John Digby; who was colonel general of those parts, and was a man rather cordial in the service, than equal to the command; which made him refer all things still to the counsel and conduct of those officers who were under him; by whose activity, as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute persons.

The total defeat of the Scottish army being now generally known, and that their friends in all other places were defeated, they in the castle well knew what they were presently to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up from making further excursions. They heard that Rainsborough was upon his march towards them, and had already sent some troops to be quartered near them, himself yet keeping his headquarters at Doncaster, ten miles from the castle. They resolved, whilst they yet enjoyed this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been informed, that sir Marmaduke Langdale, (whom they still called their general,) after the overthrow of the Scottish army, had been taken prisoner, and remained in Nottingham castle, under a most strict custody, as a man the parliament declared, "they "would make an example of their justice." Morrice, with a party of twelve horse, and no more, but picked and choice men, went out of the castle, in the beginning of the night, with a resolution to take Rainsborough prisoner, and thereby to ransom their general. They were all good guides, and understood the ways, private and public, very exactly; and went so far, that about the break of day or a little after, in the end of August, they put themselves into the common road that led from York; by which ways the guards expected no enemy; and so slightly asked them "whence they came?" who negligently answered; and asked again, "where their general was?" saying, "they had a letter for him from Cromwell." They sent one to shew them where the general was; which they knew well enough; and that he lay at the best inn of the town. And when the gate of the inn was opened to them, three of them only entered into the inn, the other rode to the other end of the town to the bridge, over which they were to pass towards Pontefract; where they expected and did find a guard of horse and foot, with whom they entertained themselves in discourse, saying, "that they stayed for their officer, who went only in to speak with the general;" and called for some drink. The guards making no question of their being friends, sent for drink, and talked negligently with them of news; and, it being broad day, some of the horse alighted, and the foot went to the court of guard, conceiving that morning's work to be over. They who went into the inn, where nobody was awake but the fellow who opened the gate, asked in which chamber the general (for so all the soldiers called Rainsborough) lay; and the fellow shewing them from below the chamber door, two of them went up, and the other stayed below, and held the horses, and talked with the soldier who had walked with them from the guard. The two who went up, opened the chamber door, found Rainsborough in his bed, but awaked with the little noise they had made. They told him in short, "that he was their prisoner, and that it was in his power to choose whether he would be presently killed," (for which work he saw they were very well prepared,) "or quietly, without making resistance, or delay, to put on his clothes and be mounted upon a horse, that was ready below for him, and accompany them to Pontefract." The present danger awakened him out of the amazement he was in, so that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the haste that was necessary to put on his clothes. One of them took his sword, and so they led him down stairs. He that held the horses, had sent the soldier away to those who were gone before, to speak to them to get some drink, and any thing else that could be made ready in the house, against they came. When Rainsborough came into the street, which he expected to find full of horse, and saw only one man, who held the others' horses, and presently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to struggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they saw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their swords, and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their horses, and rode towards their fellows, before any in the inn could be ready to follow them. When those at the bridge saw their companions coming, which was their sign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turned upon the guard, and killed so many of them, that all the rest fled in distraction; so that the way was clear and free; and though they missed carrying home the prize for which they had made so lusty an adventure, they joined together, and marched, with the expedition that was necessary, a shorter way than they had come, to their garrison; leaving the town and soldiers behind in such a consternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their general, whom they found dead upon the ground without any body in view, they thought the Devil had been there; and could not recollect themselves, which way they were to pursue an enemy they had not seen. The gallant party came safe home without the least damage to horse or man, hoping to make some other attempt more successfully, by which they might redeem sir Marmaduke Langdale. There was not an officer in the army whom Cromwell would not as willingly have lost as this man; who was bold and barbarous to his wish, and fit to be intrusted in the most desperate interest, and was the man whom that party always intended to commit the maritime affairs to, when it should be time to dismiss the earl of Warwick; he having been bred in that element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that misfortune spoken of in the beginning of the summer.

When Lambert came to this charge, (instructed by Cromwell to take full vengeance for the loss of Rainsborough, to whose ghost he designed an ample sacrifice,) and kept what body of men he thought fit for that purpose, he reduced them in a short time within their own circuit, making good works round about the castle, that they might at last yield to hunger, if nothing else would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly suffer themselves to be cooped up without bold and frequent sallies, in which many of the besiegers, as well as the others, lost their lives. They discovered many of the country who held correspondence with, and gave intelligence to the castle, whom they apprehended and caused to be hanged in sight of the castle, whereof there were two divines, and some women of note, friends and allies to the besieged. After frequent mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of relief, they were content to offer to treat for the delivery of the castle, if they might have honourable conditions; if not, they sent word, " that they had provisions yet for a good time; that they durst die, and would sell their lives at as dear a price as they could." Lambert answered, that he knew " they were gallant men, and that he desired to preserve as many of them, as was in his power to do; but he must require six of them to be given up to him, whose lives he could not save; which he was sorry for, since they were brave men; but his hands were bound." The six accepted by him were colonel Morrice, sir John Digby and four more whose names he found to have been amongst those who were in the party that had destroyed Rainsborough; which was an enterprise no brave enemy would have revenged in that manner: nor did Lambert desire it, but Cromwell had enjoined it him: all the rest he "was content to release, that they might return to their houses, and apply themselves to the parliament for their compositions, towards which he would do them all the good offices he could." They from within acknowledged "his civility in that particular, and would be glad to embrace it, but they would never be guilty of so base a thing, as to deliver up any of their companions;" and therefore they desired they might have six days allowed them, that those six might do the best they could to deliver themselves; in which it should be lawful for the rest to assist them;" to which Lambert generously consented, "so that the rest would surrender at the end of that time;" which was agreed to. Upon the first day the garrison appeared twice or thrice, as if they were resolved to make a sally, but retired every time without charging; but the second day they made a very strong and brisk sally upon another place than where they had appeared the day before, and beat the enemy from their post, with the loss of men on both sides; and though the party of the castle was beaten back, two of the six (whereof Morrice was one) made their escape, the other four being forced to retire with the rest. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the night of the fourth day, they made another attempt so prosperously, that two of the other four likewise escaped: and the next day they made great shows of joy, and sent Lambert word, "that their six friends were gone," (though there were two still remaining,) "and therefore they would be ready the next day to surrender."

The other two thought it to no purpose to make another attempt, but devised another way to secure themselves, with a less dangerous assistance from their friends, who had lost some of their own lives in the two former sallies to save theirs. The buildings of the castle were very large and spacious, and there were great store of waste stones from some walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be least visited, where they walled up their two friends in such a manner that they had air to sustain them, and victual enough to feed them a month, in which time they hoped they might be able to escape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they opened their ports, and after Lambert had caused a strict inquisition to be made for those six, none of which he did believe had in truth escaped, and was satisfied that none of them were amongst those who were come out, he received the rest very civilly, and observed his promise made to them very punctually, and did not seem sorry that the six gallant men (as he called them) were escaped.

And now they heard, which very much relieved their broken spirits, that sir Marmaduke Langdale had made an escape out of the castle of Nottingham; who shortly after transported himself beyond the seas. Lambert presently took care so to dismantle the castle, that there should be no more use of it for a garrison, leaving the vast ruins still standing; and then drew off all his troops to new quarters; so that, within ten days after the surrender, the two, who were left walled up, threw down their enclosure, and securely provided for themselves. Sir John Digby was one of those who lived many years after the king's return, and was often with his majesty. Poor Morrice was afterwards taken in Lancashire, and by a wonderful act of Providence was put to death in the same place where he had committed a fault against the king, and where he first performed a great service to the parliament.

In this desperate condition, that is before described, stood the king's affairs when the prince was at the Hague, his fleet already mutinying for pay, his own family factious and in necessity, and that of his brother the duke of York full of intrigues and designs, between the restless unquiet spirit of Bamfield, and the ambitious and as unquiet humour of sir John Berkley. The council, which was not numerous, (for the prince had not authority to add any to those who were his father's counsellors,) wanted not unity in itself, so much as submission and respect from others, which had been lost to those who were in the fleet, and the prejudice to those still remained, and so abated much of the reverence which most men were willing to pay to the two who came last. And the great animosity which prince Rupert had against the lord Colepepper infinitely disturbed the counsels, and perplexed the lord Cottington, and the chancellor of the exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But Colepepper had some passions and infirmities, which no friends could restrain; and though prince Rupert was very well inclined to the chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to Colepepper was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by Herbert the attorney general, who had the absolute ascendant over that prince, and who did perfectly hate all the world that would not be governed by him, that every meeting in council was full of bitterness and sharpness between them.

One day the council met (as it used to do when they did not attend the prince of Wales at his lodgings) at the lord treasurer's lodging, (he and the chancellor of the exchequer being in one house,) about giving direction for the sale of some goods which had been taken at sea, for the raising of money toward the payment of the fleet. In such services merchants, and other proper persons, were always necessary to be trusted. Prince Rupert proposed, "that one sir Robert Walsh" (a person too well known to be trusted) "might be employed in that affair:" it was to sell a ship of sugar. No man who was present would ever have consented that he should have been employed; but the lord Colepepper spoke against him with some warmth, so that it might be thought to reflect a little upon prince Rupert, who had proposed him. Upon which, he asking "what exceptions there were to sir Robert Walsh, why he might not be fit for it," Colepepper answered with some quickness, "that he was a known cheat;" which, though notoriously true, the prince seemed to take very ill; and said, "he was his friend, and a gentleman; and if he should come to hear of what had been said, he knew not how the lord Colepepper could avoid fighting with him." Colepepper, whose courage no man doubted, presently replied, "that he would not fight with Walsh, but he would fight with his highness;" to which the prince answered very quietly, "that it was well;" and the council rose in great perplexity.

Prince Rupert went out of the house, and the chancellor led the lord Colepepper into the garden, hoping that he should so far have prevailed with him, as to have made him sensible of the excess he had committed, and to have persuaded him presently to repair to the prince, and to ask his pardon, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but seemed to think only of making good what he had so imprudently said. Prince Rupert quickly informed his confident the attorney general of all that had passed; who was the unfittest man living to be trusted with such a secret, having always about him store of oil to throw upon such fire. He soon found means to make it known to the prince, who presently sent for the chancellor of the exchequer to be informed of the whole matter; and when he understood it, was exceedingly troubled, and required him "to let Colepepper know, that he ought to make a submission to prince Rupert; without which worse would fall out."

He went first to prince Rupert, that he might pacify him till he could convince the other of his fault; and he so far prevailed with his highness, who would have been more choleric if he had had less right of his side,[1] that he was willing to receive a submission; and promised, "that the other should receive no affront in the mean time." But he found more difficulty on the other side, the lord Colepepper, continuing still in rage, thought the provocation was so great, that he ought to be excused for the reply, and that the prince ought to acknowledge the one as well as he the other. But after some days recollection, finding nobody with whom he conversed of his mind, and understanding how much the prince was displeased, and that he expected he should ask prince Rupert pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place he was in, where he could expect no security from his quality and function, he resolved to do what he ought to have done at first; and so he went with the chancellor to prince Rupert's lodging; where he behaved himself very well; and the prince received him with all the grace could be expected; so that so ill a business seemed to be as well concluded as the nature of it would admit. But the worst was to come: the attorney general had done all he could to dissuade that prince from accepting so small and so private a satisfaction; but, not prevailing, he inflamed sir Robert Walsh, who had been informed of all that had passed at the council concerning himself, to take his own revenge; in which many men thought, that he was assured prince Rupert would not be offended.[1] And the next morning after his highness had received satisfaction, as the lord Colepepper was walking to the council without a sword, Walsh, coming to him, seemed quietly to expostulate with him, for having mentioned him so unkindly. To the which the other answered, "that he would give him satisfaction in any way he would require; though he ought not to be called in question for any thing he had said in that place." On a sudden, whilst they were in this calm discourse, Walsh struck him with all his force one blow in the face with his fist; and then stepped back, and drew his sword; but seeing the other had none, walked away; and the lord Colepepper, with his nose and face all bloody, went back to his chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the clock in the morning, in the sight of the town; which troubled the prince exceedingly; who immediately sent to the States to demand justice; and they, according to their method and slow proceedings in matters which they do not take to heart, caused Walsh to be summoned, and after so many days, for want of appearance, he was by the sound of a bell publicly banished from the Hague; and so he made his residence in Amsterdam, or what other place he pleased. And this was the reparation the States gave the prince for so ruffianly a transgression; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy business exposed the prince himself, as well as his council, to more disadvantage, and less reverence, than ought to have been paid to either.

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[1] This observation lets me well into prince Rupert's character.—W.

The improvidence that had been used in the fleet, besides its unactivity, by the dismissing so many great prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither money to pay the seamen, who were not modest in requiring it, nor to new victual the ships, which was as important; since it was easy to be foreseen, that they could not remain long in the station where they were for the present, and the extreme licence which all men took to censure and reproach that improvidence, disturbed all counsels, and made conversation itself very uneasy. Nor was it possible to suppress that licence; every man believing that his particular necessities, with which all men abounded, might easily have been relieved, and provided for, if it had not been for that ill husbandry; which they therefore called treachery and corruption. It cannot be denied but there was so great a treasure taken, which turned to no account, and so much more might have been taken, if the several ships had been applied to that end, that a full provision might have been made, both for the support of the fleet, and supply of the prince, and of all who depended upon him for a good time, if the same had been well managed; and could have been deposited in some secure place, till all might have been sold at good markets. And nobody was satisfied with the reasons which were given for the discharging and dismissing so many ships to gratify the city of London, and the presbyterian party throughout the kingdom. For, besides that the value of what was so given away and lost, was generally believed to be worth more than all they would have done, if they had been able, those bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that people; whose affections had been long dead,[1] and could be revived by nothing but their sharp sufferings, and their insupportable losses; the obstruction and destruction of their trade, and the seizing upon their estates, was the most proper application to the city of London, and the best arguments to make them in love with peace, and to extort it from them in whose power it was to give it. And if the fleet had applied itself to that, and visited all those maritime parts which were in counties well affected, and where some places had declared for the king, (as Scarborough in Yorkshire did,) if it had not been possible to have set the king at liberty in the Isle of Wight, or to have relieved Colchester, the fort at Harwich being then declared for the king, (both which many men believed, how unskilfully soever, to be practicable,) it would have spent the time much more advantageously and honourably than it did.

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[1] This reflects much upon prince Rupert's honour.—W

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[1] This observation is extremely just, both as it regards the genius of puritanism in general, and the state of it at that time.—W.

But let the ill consequence be never so great, if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would have been discovered by the examination and inquisition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the queen was so fully possessed of the purpose and the power of the Scots to do the king's business, before the insurrections in the several parts in England,[1] and the revolt of the fleet appeared, that she did not enough weigh the good use that might have been made of those when they did happen, but kept her mind then so fixed upon Scotland, as the sole foundation of the king's hopes, that she looked upon the benefit of the fleet's returning to their allegiance, only as an opportunity offered by Providence to transport the prince with security thither. And her instructions to those she trusted about the prince were so positive, "that they should not give consent to any thing that might divert or delay that expedition," that, if the earl of Lautherdale had been arrived when the prince came to the fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have transported the prince into Scotland, what other conveniences soever, preferable to that, had offered themselves. And the very next day after that lord's coming to the prince in the Downs, his injunctions and behaviour were so imperious for the prince's present departure, that nothing but a direct mutiny among the seamen prevented it. His highness's own ship was under sail for Holland, that he might from thence have prosecuted his other voyage: nor would he at that time have taken Holland in his way, if there had been any quantity of provision in the fleet for such a peregrination. This expedition for Scotland was the more grievous to all men, because it was evident that the prince himself was much more inclined to have pursued other occasions which were offered, and only resigned himself implicitly to the pleasure of his mother.[2]

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[1] The queen was the author of all this ill counsel; whose superstition made her despise the episcopal church, as much as her husband's superstition made him idolize it.—W.

[2] There was some excuse for him, none for his father.—W.

The present ill condition of the fleet, and the unsteady humour of the common seamen, was the more notorious and unseasonable, by the earl of Warwick's coming with another fleet from the parliament upon the coast of Holland, within few days after the prince came to the Hague, and anchoring within view of the king's fleet. And it is probable he would have made some hostile attempt upon it, well knowing that many officers and seamen were on shore, if the States had not, in the very instant, sent some of their ships of war to preserve the peace in their port. However, according to the insolence of his masters, and of most of those employed by them, the earl sent a summons of a strange nature to the king's ships, in which he took notice, "that a fleet of ships, which were part of the navy royal of the kingdom of England, was then riding at anchor off Helvoetsluys, and bearing a standard: that he did therefore, by the parliament's authority, by which he was constituted lord high admiral of England, require the admiral, or commander in chief of that fleet, to take down the standard; and the captains, and mariners belonging to the ships, to render themselves and the ships to him, as high admiral of England, and for the use of the king and parliament: and he did, by the like authority, offer an indemnity to all those who should submit to him."

After which summons, though received by the lord Willoughby, who remained on board the fleet in the command of vice-admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impression upon the officers, nor visibly, at that time, upon the common men, yet, during the time the earl continued in so near a neighbourhood, he did find means by private insinuations, and by sending many of his seamen on shore at Helvoetsluys, (where they entered into conversation with their old companions,) so to work upon and corrupt many of the seamen, that it afterwards appeared many were debauched; some whereof went on board his ships, others stayed to do more mischief. But that ill neighbourhood continued not long; for the season of the year, and the winds which usually rage on that coast in the month of September, removed him from that station, and carried him back to the Downs to attend new orders.

All these disturbances were attended with a worse, which fell out at the same time, and that was the sickness of the prince; who, after some days indisposition, appeared to have the smallpox; which almost distracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious life: and therefore the consternation was very universal whilst that was thought in danger. But, by the goodness and mercy of God, he recovered in few days the peril of that distemper; and, within a month, was restored to so perfect health, that he was able to take an account himself of his melancholic and perplexed affairs.

There were two points which were in the first place to be considered, and provided for by the prince; neither of which would bear delay for the consultation and resolution: the first, how to make provision to pay and victual the fleet, and to compose the mutinous spirits of the seamen; who paid no reverence to their officers, insomuch as, in the short stay which the earl of Warwick had made before Helvoetsluys, as hath been said, many of the seamen had gone over to him, and the Constant Warwick, a frigate of the best account, had either voluntarily left the prince's fleet, or suffered itself willingly to be taken, and carried away with the rest into England. The other was, what he should do with the fleet, when it was both paid and victualled.

Towards the first, there were some ships brought in with the fleet, laden with several merchandise of value, that, if they could be sold for the true worth, would amount to a sum sufficient to pay the seamen their wages, and to put in provisions enough to serve four months; and there were many merchants from London, who were desirous to buy their own goods, which had been taken from them; and others had commissions from thence to buy the rest. But then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any other market, but must be sold in the place where they were; and therefore they were resolved to have very good pennyworths. And there were many debts claimed, which the prince had promised, whilst he was in the river, should be paid out of the first money that should be raised upon the sale of such and such ships: particularly, the prince believed that the countess of Carlisle, who had committed faults enough to the king and queen, had pawned her necklace[1] of pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she had totally disbursed in supplying officers, and making other provisions for the expedition of the earl of Holland, (which sum of fifteen hundred pounds the prince had promised the lord Piercy her brother, who was a very importunate solicitor,) should be paid upon the sale of a ship that was laden with sugar, and was then conceived to be worth above six or seven thousand pounds. Others had the like engagements upon other ships: so that when money was to be raised upon the sale of merchandise, they who had such engagements would be themselves intrusted, or nominate those who should be, to make the bargain with purchasers, to the end that they might be sure to receive what they claimed, out of the first monies that should be raised. By this means, double the value was delivered, to satisfy a debt that was not above the half.

But that which was worse than all this, the prince of Orange advertised the prince, that some questions had been started in the States, "what they should do, if the parliament of England (which had now a very dreadful name) should send over to them to demand the restitution of those merchants' goods, which had been unjustly taken in the Downs, and in the river of Thames, and had been brought into their ports, and were offered to sale there, against the obligation of that amity which had been observed between the two nations, during the late war? What answer they should be able to make, or how they could refuse to permit the owners of those goods to make their arrests, and to sue in their admiralty for the same? Which first process would stop the present sale of whatever others pretended a title to, till the right should be determined." The prince of Orange said, "that such questions used not to be started there without design;" and therefore advised the prince "to lose no time in making complete sales of all that was to be sold; to the end that they who were engaged in the purchase, might likewise be engaged in the defence of it." Upon this ground, as well as the others which have been mentioned, hasty bargains were made with all who desired to buy, and who would not buy except they were sure to be good gainers by all the bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wisdom of any who were upon the place, with no more authority than they had. Mr. Long, who was secretary to the prince, had been possessed of the office of receiving and paying all monies, whilst the prince was in the fleet, and so could not well be removed from it when he came into Holland : though he was thought to love money too well, yet nobody who loved it less, would at that time have submitted to the employment, which exposed him to the importunity and insolence of all necessitous persons, when he could satisfy none ; yet he liked it well with all its prejudice and disadvantage.

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[1] *Faults enough* to be hanged in her own *necklace*, if no other cord could be found.—W

As soon as the money was raised, it was sent to the fleet to pay the seamen ; and the prince made a journey to the fleet to see, and keep up the spirits of the seamen, who were very mutinous, not without the infusions of some who did not desire they should be too well pleased with their officers. The lord Willoughby stayed on board purely out of duty to the king, though he liked neither the place he had, nor the people over whom he was to command, who had yet more respect for him than for any body else. Sir William Batten likewise remained with them, not knowing well how to refuse it, though he had too much reason to be weary of his province, the seamen having contracted an implacable jealousy and malice against him, more than they were naturally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had an impatient desire to make his peace, and to live in his own country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the king ; against whom he never after took employment.

The other point to be resolved was yet more difficult, " what should be done with the fleet, and who should command it ?" and though the advertisement the prince of Orange had given his royal highness, of the question started in the States, concerned only the merchants' ships, which were made prize, yet it was very easy to discern the logic of that question would extend as well, and be applied to those of the royal navy, as to merchants' ships. And it was evident enough, that the United Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the ships of the king, or of the parliament. And it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the houses, which kept them from being united in that demand. So that the prince knew that nothing was more necessary than that they should be gone out of the ports of those provinces, and that the States wished it exceedingly.

Whilst Bamfield was about the person of the duke of York, he had infused into him a marvellous desire to be possessed of the government of the fleet; but the duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither safe for his highness, nor for his father's service, that he should be embarked in it: and Bamfield, by an especial command from the king, who had discovered more of his foul practices than could be known to the prince, was not suffered to come any more near the person of the duke. So he returned into England; where he was never called in question for stealing the duke away.[1] From this time the duke, who was not yet above twelve or thirteen years of age, was so far from desiring to be with the fleet, that, when there was once a proposition, upon occasion of a sudden mutiny amongst the seamen, "that he should go to Helvoetsluys, to appear amongst them," who professed great duty to his highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some servant about him who took pains to persuade him, "that the council had persuaded the prince to that designation, out of ill will to his highness, and that the ships might deliver him up to the parliament." So unpleasant and uncomfortable a province had those persons, who, being of the king's council, served both with great fidelity; every body who was unsatisfied (and nobody was satisfied) aspersing them, or some of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in such a manner as touched the honour of the rest, and most reflected upon the king's own honour and service.

It was evident enough that prince Rupert had a long desire to have that command of the fleet put into his hands; and that desire, though carried with all secrecy, had been the cause of so many intrigues, either to inflame the seamen, or to cherish their froward inclinations, and increase the prejudice they had to Batten. The attorney mentioned this to the chancellor of the exchequer, shortly after his coming to the Hague, as a thing, he thought, that prince might be induced to accept out of his zeal to the king's service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what person the government of the fleet could be committed, when it should set sail from that port, and whither it should go. The chancellor made no other answer to him, than "that it was like to be a charge of much danger and hazard; that he must not believe that any body would propose the undertaking it to prince Rupert, or that the prince would command him to undertake it; and that he thought it necessary, that it should be first resolved what the fleet should do, and whither it should go, before a commander should be appointed over it. He was very glad that the attorney had proposed this, which he knew he would not have done, without the consent of prince Rupert."

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[1] He was afterwards for many years a spy or intelligencer under Thurlow, Cromwell's secretary.—W.

When the marquis of Ormond had waited so many months at Paris for the performance of those gaudy promises which the cardinal had made, after he saw in what manner the prince of Wales himself was treated by him, and that he would not suffer the least assistance to be applied to the affairs of England, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the revolt of the fleet, upon so powerful insurrections in England, and possessing so many places of importance on the king's behalf, and when the whole kingdom of Scotland seemed so united for his majesty's service, and an army of thirty thousand men were even ready to march; I say, after he discerned that the cardinal was so far from giving any countenance or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the destroying them but the imprisoning the prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for Ireland. And therefore he resolved, though he had neither men, nor money, nor arms, nor ammunition, all which had been very liberally promised to transport with him, he would yet transport his own person, to what evident danger soever he was to expose it. Upon the full assurance the cardinal had given him of very substantial aid, he had assured the lord Inchiquin, "that he would be present with him with notable supply of money, arms, and ammunition, and good officers, and some common men," (which were all in readiness, if the money had been paid to entertain them,) and had likewise sent to many, who had formerly served the king, and lived now quietly in the enemy's quarters, upon the articles which had been formerly granted the marquis of Ormond, "that they should expect his speedy arrival."

And though he had, from time to time, sent advertisements of the delays and obstructions he met with in the French court, so that he did almost despair of any assistance from it, yet the lord Inchiquin had advanced too far to retire; and the lord Lisle, who had been sufficiently provoked, and contemned by him, was gone into England with full malice, and such information (which was not hard for him to be furnished with) as would put Cromwell and the army into such fury, that his friends in the parliament, who had hitherto sustained his credit, would be very hardly able to support him longer. So that, as he was to expect a storm from thence, so he had a very sharp war to maintain against the Irish, led and commanded by the pope's nuncio; which war had been always carried on in Munster with wonderful animosity, and with some circumstances of bloodiness, especially against priests, and others of the Roman clergy, that it was very hard to hope that those people would live well together. And indeed the Irish were near rooted out of the province of Munster, though they were powerful enough and strong in all the other provinces. Hereupon the lord Inchiquin, with all possible earnestness, writ to the lord of Ormond, "that, though without any other assistance, he would transport his own person:" by whose countenance and authority he presumed the Irish might be divided and brought to reason; and desired him, "in the mean time to send to such of the Irish as had dependence upon him, and who, he knew, in their hearts did not wish well to the nuncio, that they would secretly correspond with him, and dispose their friends and dependents to concur in what might advance the king's service; to which they did not know that he was inclined, but looked upon him, as the same malicious and irreconcileable enemy to them, as he had always appeared to me to their religion, more than to their persons."

From the time that the Irish entered into that bloody and foolish rebellion, they had very different affections, intentions, and designs, which were every day improved in the carrying on the war. That part of them which inhabited the *Pale*, so called from a circuit of ground contained in it, was originally of English extraction, since the first plantation by the English many ages past. And though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous customs of the Irish, and were as stupidly transported with the highest superstition of the Romish religion, yet they had always steadily adhered to the crown, and performed the duty of good subjects during all those rebellions which the whole reign of queen Elizabeth was seldom without. And of that temper most of the province of Lemster was: Munster was the most planted with English of all the provinces of Ireland, and though there were many noblemen of that province who were of the oldest Irish extractions, and of those families which had been kings of Munster, yet many of them had intermarried with the best English families, and so were better bred and more civilized than the rest of the old Irish, and lived regularly in obedience to the government, and by connivance enjoyed the exercise of their religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

The seat of the old Irish, who retained the rites, customs, manners, and ignorance of their ancestors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the province of Ulster; not the better cultivated by the neighbourhood of the Scots, who were planted upon them in great numbers, with circumstances of great rigour, if not of injustice. Here the rebellion was first contrived, cherished, and entered upon with that horrid barbarity, by the O'Neiles, the Macguyres, and the Macmahoons; and though it quickly spread itself, and was entertained in the other provinces, (many persons of honour and quality engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they pretended, to preserve themselves from the undistinguishing severity of the lords justices, who denounced the war against all Irish equally, if not against all Roman catholics; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declined in all the orders and directions sent to them out of England, but so unskilfully pursued by the justices and council there, that as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had cheerfully offered their service, they concluded, that the English Irish were as much in the jealousy of the state as the other, and so resolved to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable courses as the rest had done,) yet, I say, they were no sooner entered into the war, which was so generally embraced, but there appeared a very great difference in the temper and purposes of those who prosecuted it. They of the more moderate party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the king, or of invading his prerogative, put themselves under the command of general Preston: the other, of the fiercer and more savage party, and who never meant to return to their obedience of the crown of England, and looked upon all the estates which had ever been in the possession of any of their ancestors, though forfeited by their treason and rebellion, as justly due to them, and ravished from them by the tyranny of the crown, marched under the conduct of Owen Roe O'Neile; both generals of the Irish nation; the one descended of English extraction through many descents; the other purely Irish, and of the family of Tyrone; both bred in the wars of Flanders, and both eminent commanders there, and of perpetual jealousy of each other; the one of the more frank and open nature; the other darker, less polite, and the wiser man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous armies apart, than all the king's power could bring into the field against either of them.

This disparity in the temper and humour of those people first disposed those of the most moderate to desire a peace shortly after the rebellion was begun, and produced the cessation that was first entered into, and the peace, which did not soon enough ensue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exercise of the Roman catholic religion; but did that in so immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the protestants of the king's dominions.

Owen Roe O'Neile refused to submit to the conditions and articles of that peace, though transacted and confirmed by their catholic council at Kilkenny, which was the representative the Irish nation had chosen for the conduct of all the counsels for peace and war, and to which they all avowed, and had hitherto paid, an entire obedience. The pope's nuncio, who about that time came from Rome, and transported himself into that kingdom, applied himself to Owen O'Neile, and took that party into his protection; and so wrought upon their clergy, generally, that he broke that peace, and prosecuted those who had made it, with those circumstances which have been before remembered, and which necessitated the lord lieutenant to quit the kingdom, and to leave the city of Dublin in the hands of the parliament; the lord Inchiquin having likewise refused to consent, and submit to that peace, and continued to make the war sharply and successfully against the Irish in the province of Munster; whereof he was president. But the nuncio was no sooner invested in the supreme command of that nation both by sea and land, as over a people subject to the pope, and of a dominion belonging to him, than, being a man of a fantastical humour, and of an imperious and proud nature, he behaved himself so insolently towards all, (and, having brought no assistance to them but the pope's bulls, endeavoured by new exactions to enrich himself,) that even the men of Ulster were weary of him; and they who had been the instruments of the former peace were not wanting to foment those jealousies and discontents, which had produced that application to the queen and prince at St. Germains, and the resolution of sending the marquis of Ormond thither again, both which have been related before. And the marquis now having given the lord Muskerry (who had married his sister, and was the most powerful person and of the greatest interest in Munster of all the Irish) and other of his friends notice that the lord Inchiquin would serve the king, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his service, they found means to hold such intercourse with him, that, before the marquis of Ormond arrived there, against all the opposition the nuncio could make, a cessation of arms was concluded between the confederate catholics and the lord Inchiquin; and the nuncio was driven into Waterford; and, upon the matter, besieged there by the catholic Irish; and the marquis arriving at the same time at Kinsale, and being received by the lord Inchiquin with all imaginable duty as the king's lieutenant, the forlorn and contemned nuncio found it necessary to transport himself into Italy, leaving the kingdom of Ireland under an excommunication, and interdict, as an apostate nation; and all the province of Munster (in which there are many excellent ports) became immediately and entirely under the king's obedience. All which being well known to the prince and the council, it was easily concluded, "that it was the best, if not the only place the fleet could repair to;" though the danger in conducting it thither was visible enough; and therefore they were glad that prince Rupert had made that advance towards the command of it, and well satisfied with the wariness of the answer.

There was in truth nobody in view to whom the charge of the fleet could be committed but prince Rupert: for it was well known that the lord Willoughby, besides his being without much experience of the sea, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the seamen were too much broke loose from all kind of order, to be reduced by a commander of an ordinary rank. It was as true, that prince Rupert, at that time, was generally very ungracious in England, having the misfortune to be no better beloved by the king's party, than he was by the parliament. This was an exception that was foreseen: and as there was no other choice of a place to which the fleet must be carried, but Munster; and the passage thither could not but be full of danger, in respect that the parliament was without question master of the sea, (although the island of Scilly being then under the king's authority, and sir John Greenvil being the governor thereof, made that passage something the more secure,) so this purpose was to be concealed as the last secret; there being great danger that the seamen would rather carry all the ships back again to the parliament, than into Ireland; against which people they had made a war at sea with circumstances very barbarous, for they had never given any quarter, but the Irish, as well merchants and passengers, as mariners, which fell into their hands, as hath been said before, were bound back to back, and thrown into the sea; so that they could have no inclination to go into a country whose people had been handled so cruelly by them.

Here again appeared another objection against the person of prince Rupert, who would never endure to be subject to the command of the lord lieutenant of that kingdom: and yet it seemed most reasonable that the ships, whilst they stayed there, might be employed towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in rebellion: besides that there was cause to fear, that the prince would not live with that amity towards the marquis of Ormond, as was necessary for the public service. Notwithstanding all this, when the stratagem of having prince Rupert desired to take the command of the fleet upon him did not succeed, prince Rupert himself made the proposition to the prince to take the command of it upon him, and to carry it whither his royal highness would be pleased to direct. And then, the whole matter being debated, necessity made that to be counsellable, against which very many reasonable objections might be made. So it was resolved that prince Rupert should be admiral of that fleet, and that it should sail for Ireland. And the charge and expedition appeared to be the more hopeful by the presence of good officers, who had long commanded in the royal navy: sir Thomas Kettleby, whom the prince made captain of his own ship the Antelope; sir John Mennes, who had the command of the Swallow, a ship of which he had been captain many years before; and colonel Richard Fielding, who was made captain of the Constant Reformation; all worthy and faithful men to the king's service, of long experience in the service at sea, and well known and loved by the seamen. With these officers, and some other gentlemen, who were willing to spend their time in that service, prince Rupert went to Helvoetsluys, where the ships lay, and seemed to be received by the fleet with great joy. They all bestirred themselves in their several places to get the ships ready for sea, and all those provisions which were necessary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been used.

When they took a strict survey of the ships, the carpenters were all of opinion, "that the Convertine, a ship of the second rank, that carried seventy guns, was too old and decayed to be now set out in a winter voyage, and in so rough seas, and that when a great deal of money should be laid out to mend her, she would not be serviceable or safe." And it did appear, that when the officers of the navy had fitted her out at the beginning of the summer, they had declared, "that, when she came in again, she would not be fit for more use, but must be laid upon the stocks." Whereupon the ship was brought into Helvoetsluys, upon the next spring tide, and examined by the best Dutch carpenters and surveyors; and all being of the same mind, information was sent by prince Rupert to the prince of the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the sale of the ordnance, and whatsoever else would yield money: all which was applied to the victualling and setting out the rest, without which no means could have been found to have done it; so much ill husbandry had been used, and so much direct cheating in the managing all the money that had been raised upon the prizes.

Prince Rupert remained all the time at Helvoetsluys, till all was ready to set sail, and had, with notable vigour and success, suppressed two or three mutinies, in one of which he had been compelled to throw two or three seamen overboard by the strength of his own arms. When he wanted any thing, he always writ to the chancellor, whom of all the council he most esteemed; and twice in that time he writ to the prince to send the chancellor to Helvoetsluys, to advise with him upon some particulars; who went accordingly in very cold seasons, and stayed a day or two with him, commonly to compose some differences between him and the officers. All subordinate officers were appointed, commissioners for the sale of all prize goods, and ships that should be taken, treasurers and paymasters for issuing and paying and receiving all monies; and an establishment for the whole too regular and strict to be observed: and though all persons employed were well known, and approved by prince Rupert, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts and issues under his own management, and sole government. When all was ready he came to the Hague to take leave of the prince, and returned, and about the beginning of December he set sail for Ireland, met with good prizes in the way, and arrived safely at Kinsale: nor had he been long gone out of Holland, when the prince had a shrewd evidence how unsecure a longer abode would have been there, by some parliament ships coming into that road, and sending their men on shore, who at noonday burnt the Convertine within the very town of Helvoetsluys, nor did the States make any expostulation, or do any justice for the affront offered to themselves, and their government.

In this calamitous state of affairs there seemed to be no hope left, but that by treaty the king might yet be restored to such a condition, that there might be those roots left in the crown, from whence its former power and prerogative might sprout out hereafter, and flourish.* The commissioners for the treaty arrived in the Isle of Wight upon the fifteenth day of September, whilst Cromwell yet remained in his northern progress, and his army divided into several parts for the finishing his conquest; which was the reason that all they who wished ill to the treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had used and interposed all the delays they could, that he might return before it begun, as they who wished it might succeed well, were as solicitous, that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the less to insist upon many particulars both in the propositions and the instructions, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies in the treaty than before it.

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* *This relation of the treaty being taken from another MS. the following brief account of Cromwell's movements and of the treaty, according to MS. B. is omitted.* As soon as Cromwell had finished his work in Scotland with the marquis of Argyle, he found it necessary to make all possible haste to London, without making any stay by the way about Pontefract, or any thing else. When all outward enemies were subdued to their wish, the fire began already to be kindled in the houses, and the presbyterians took heart upon the confidence they had in the city of London, which stood yet entire, by reason they had not exposed themselves to any disadvantage, by declaring their affections either in the business of Kent or the siege of Colchester; and the whole kingdom in general seemed very solicitous once more to treat with the king; against which there was a declaration and resolution of both houses; and if that should be recalled, their foundations were shaken, and they had nothing to insist upon. And therefore when Cromwell returned, he used all his faculties of persuading this man, and terrifying and threatening others, to induce them to adhere to their declaration and vote of making no more addresses to the king; if they should depart from them, their reputation of constancy would be presently lost. Very many members of the house of commons, who had discontinued coming to the house from the very time that declaration had passed the house, came now thither again upon the account of the new debate against him. Whereupon, after Cromwell had tried all the ways he could, he was at last compelled to consent to what the major part of both houses so positively required; and so they agreed to send commissioners once more to the king at the Isle of Wight, with their old demands upon the church, the militia, and Ireland; which was now upon the matter reduced to the king's obedience, the city of Dublin excepted. But that they might be at a certainty in point of time, they resolved that the treaty should continue only for twenty days; at

the expiration whereof, the commissioners should be obliged to return, and to give the houses account of what the king should in that time have offered; and during that time of the treaty, the king was attended by such persons of divines and lawyers as he made choice of, and was lodged at the town of Newport, that there might be some appearance of liberty, though all guards were kept upon him with all possible strictness. The commissioners who were sent to treat, for the major part were such, who did heartily desire to preserve the king, and did fully discover the wickedness of the army; that is, the wicked intentions and resolutions of Cromwell, Vane, and the rest, who enough declared that they would have no more a king, but would erect a republic. Whereupon all possible endeavours were used, by those who came to attend upon his majesty by his own command, as well as such of the commissioners as were generally known to abhor the violence that was intended, to persuade the king to yield as much in all the particulars demanded as might satisfy the houses; the major part whereof they believed would be satisfied with much less, than they would be who governed the army. The king was more easily persuaded to comply with many things else, than in that which concerned the church; his concessions wherein could only do him good, in regard that they must satisfy the presbyterians, who must make the major party. All the transactions passed in writing; the papers whereof are to be seen, which will make posterity wonder at the impudence and impiety of that time, that could treat such a prince in such a manner. When the time grew to an expiration, the importunity of his friends wrought upon him to consent to so much, as the commissioners, who pressed most, did believe would give satisfaction; and they who knew the king best, did really think that his majesty much rather wished that the parliament would reject than accept it; so far he was from being pleased with his own concessions. During the treaty, some of the commissioners treated the king very rudely, yet not with so much insolence as Jenkins and Spurstow, two presbyterian ministers, exercised towards him, who both were very saucy, telling him that he would be damned; with which his majesty was not at all disturbed.

They who had not seen the king, &c, *as in page*, 2344, *line* 36.

They stayed three days in the island before the treaty begun, which was time little enough to prepare the house for the king's reception at Newport, and adjusting many circumstances of the treaty. In that time they waited several times on the king, with great show of outward duty and respect; and though none of them durst adventure to see the king in private, they communicated freely with some of those lords, and others, who, with the parliament's leave, were come to attend the king during the time of the treaty. And so they found means to advertise his majesty of many particulars, which they thought necessary for him to know; which made impressions upon him, as the information proceeded from persons better or worse affected to him. And many of those who had liberty to attend, were competent considerers of the truth of what they said.

The truth is, there were amongst the commissioners many who had been carried with the violence of the stream, and would be glad of those concessions which the king would very cheerfully have granted; an act of indemnity and oblivion being what they were principally concerned in. And of all the rest, who were more passionate for the militia, and against the church, there was no man, except sir Harry Vane, who did not desire that a peace might be established by that treaty. For as all the other lords desired, in their own natures and affections, no more than that their transgressions might never more be called to remembrance; so the lord Say himself (who was as proud of his quality, and of being distinguished from other men by his title, as any man alive) well foresaw what would become of his peerage, if the treaty proved ineffectual, and the army should make their own model of the government they would submit to, (as undoubtedly they resolved shortly to do,) and therefore he did all he could to work upon the king to yield to what was proposed to him, and, afterwards, upon the parliament, to be content with what his majesty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections soever they were, was the same, "that his majesty should, forthwith, and without delaying it to the expiration of the term assigned by the parliament for the treaty," (which was forty days,) "yield to the full demands which were made in the propositions." Their only argument was, "that, if he did not, or not do it quickly, the army would proceed their own way, and had enough declared, that they would depose the king, change the government, and settle a republic by their own rules and invention." And this advertisement was as well believed by those of the king's own party, as by the commissioners themselves.

Before the treaty begun, the commissioners made it known to the king, "that they could not admit that any person should be present in the room where the treaty should be, much less that any man should presume to speak, or interpose his opinion or advice, upon any matter that should be in debate: that they were commissioners sent from the parliament to treat with his majesty, and with him alone; and that they might not permit any particular and private persons to oppose or confer with them upon the demands of the parliament." So that albeit the parliament had given leave to the several bishops, and other divines, and to many lawyers of eminency, to wait on his majesty, upon his desire, that they might instruct and inform him in all difficult cases which related to religion or the law of the land, they were like to be of little use to him now they were come, if they might not be present at the debate, and offer such advice to his majesty, as upon emergent occasions he should stand in need of, or require from them. At last they were contented, and his majesty was obliged to be contented too, that they might stand behind a curtain, and hear all that was said, and when any such difficulty occurred as would require consultation, his majesty might retire to his chamber, and call those to him, with whom he would advise, to attend him, and might then return again into the room for the treaty, and declare his own resolution. This was the unequal and unreasonable preliminary and condition, to which the king was compelled to submit before the treaty could begin.

They who had not seen the king in a year's time (for it was little less from the time that he had left Hampton Court) found his countenance extremely altered. From the time that his own servants had been taken from him, he would never suffer his hair to be cut, nor cared to have any new clothes; so that his aspect and appearance was very different from what it had used to be: otherwise, his health was good, and he was much more cheerful in his discourses towards all men than could have been imagined, after such mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his spirits, but carried himself with the same majesty he had used to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very sad, made it thought that he had sorrow in his countenance, which appeared only by that shadow.

Upon Monday the 18th of September, the treaty begun, and the commissioners presented their commission to his majesty, to treat with him personally, upon the propositions presented formerly at Hampton Court, concerning the kingdom of England and Ireland only, and upon such propositions as should be offered either by his majesty, or the two houses of parliament, according to their instructions, &c. Though the king knew very well, that Cromwell had so totally subdued Scotland, that he had not left any man there in the least authority or power, who did so much as pretend to wish well to him, and that, in truth, Cromwell had as much the command there as Argyle himself had, who was but his creature, yet, either to recover their broken spirits, or to manifest his own royal compassion for them, he told the commissioners,[1] "that, when the propositions had been delivered to him at Hampton Court, the Scottish interest was so involved in them, that it could be hardly separable from that of England: that it concerned him, as king of both kingdoms, to be just and equal between both; and that though they had no authority to treat for any thing but what related to England, yet he, who was to provide for the public peace, (which could hardly be provided for, except the Scots were comprehended in this treaty,) did desire, that they would send to the two houses of parliament, to give a pass for one of the servants to go into Scotland, to invite the council there to send somebody authorized by that kingdom, who might treat with the commissioners of parliament:" and to that purpose his majesty delivered them a paper in writing to be sent by them to the parliament, telling them at the same time, "that it was never his desire or meaning, that they should meddle in the government of England, but only should treat concerning the peace, to the end that that might be durable." But the commissioners alleged, that "it was not in their power to receive and transmit that, or any other paper, to the parliament, that referred to that kingdom; and they besought him to give them leave, as an evidence of their duty, to inform him of what ill consequence the transmission of that paper at that time might be to the treaty itself." Whereupon he declined sending it by a messenger of his own for the present, (which he intended to have done,) being unwilling to give any occasion of dispute or jealousy so early, and believing that after he should have gotten a good understanding with the two houses, in what was of immediate concernment to England, he should more effectually transmit that, or any other paper, for the more easy composing the affairs of Scotland.

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[1] They must needs be enemies to the success of the treaty who could persuade the king to this absurd and fatal counsel, which would so long protract the conclusion, that Cromwell and the army (it could not but be seen) would be returned to put a violent end to it.—W.

Then they presented their first proposition to his majesty; "that he would revoke all declarations, and commissions granted heretofore by him against the parliament." Whereupon his majesty desired, "that he might see all the propositions, they had to make to him, together; that he might the better consider what satisfaction he could give them upon the whole:" which they would not yield to without much importunity, and at last delivered them with reluctancy, as a thing they were not sure they ought to do. And though their commission referred to instructions, and his majesty desired that he might have a view of those, they peremptorily refused to let him have a sight of them; and only told him, "that they were directed by their instructions, first to treat upon the proposition they had already presented to him, concerning the revocation of the declarations, &c. and in the next place, of the church, then of the militia, and fourthly of Ireland, and afterwards of the rest of the propositions in order;" and they declared likewise that, "by their instructions, they were not to enter upon any new propositions, before they should have received his majesty's final answer to what was first proposed."

Hereupon the king demanded of them, "whether they had power and authority to recede from any particular contained in their propositions, or to consent to any alterations, if his majesty should give them good reason so to do?" To which they answered very magisterially, "that they were ready to debate, to shew how reasonable their desires were, and that there could be no reason why they should alter or recede from them; but if his majesty did satisfy them, they should do therein as they were warranted by their instructions." These limitations and restrictions in a matter of that importance, which contained a new frame of government, and an alteration of all civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, almost damped and stifled all the hope his majesty had entertained of good from this treaty. However, he resolved to try if consenting to the substantial part of any proposition would give them satisfaction; and so, without taking notice of the preamble of that proposition, which they had delivered to him, he declared in writing, which he delivered to them, "that he was willing to grant the body of their proposition, that was to recall all declarations, &c." But they immediately returned another paper to him, in which they said, "his majesty had left unanswered the most essential part of their proposition," repeating the words in the preamble, which recited, "that the two houses of parliament had been necessitated to enter into a war in their just and lawful defence; and that the kingdom of England had entered into a solemn league and covenant to prosecute the same;" and so justifying all that had been done, &c. To all which they very vehemently pressed "his majesty's approbation and consent, as the most necessary foundation of a lasting peace, and the indispensable expectation of the two houses and of the whole kingdom; and that the two houses, and the kingdom, could not decline this particular demand, without which they could not believe themselves to be in any security; since, by the letter of the law, they who had adhered to the parliament, might seem guilty of raising war against the king, and so to be guilty of high treason by the statute of the 25th year of king Edward the Third: whereas by the construction and equity thereof they were justified;

and therefore that the consenting to this preamble was so essential, that without it the parliament would be thought guilty; which they hoped his majesty did not desire it should." And that this might make the deeper impression upon him, the lord Say, in the debate of it, twice repeated, with more passion than was natural to his constitution, "that he did tremble to think how sad the consequence would be, if what they now pressed should be denied." And others said, that "it was no more than his majesty had heretofore granted in the act of indemnity that he had passed in Scotland; and if he should now refuse to do it in England, there would be a speedy end put to the treaty, without entering upon any of the other propositions." The king was so much perplexed and offended with this impudent way of reasoning, that he told those with whom he consulted, and writ the same to the prince his son, "that the long restraint he had endured in the castle of Carisbrook, was not a greater evidence of the captivity of his person, nor was he more sensible of it, than this was of the captivity of his mind, by his being forced to decline those answers and arguments which were proper to the support of his cause, and which must have brought blushes over the faces of the commissioners, and to frame others more seasonable and fit to be offered to men in that condition from him who was to receive, and not give conditions."

However, this proposition was of so horrid and monstrous a nature,[1] so contrary to the known truth, and so destructive to justice and government, that it seemed to naturalize rebellion, and to make it current in the kingdom to all posterity, that his majesty could not forbear to tell them, "that no act of parliament could make that to be true, which was notoriously known to be false; that this treaty must be the foundation of the future peace and security, and what was herein provided for both could never be called in question; that he was most willing, that it should be made very penal to every man to reproach another for any thing he had done during the late troubles, upon what provocation soever." He put them in mind, "that it was well known to some of them, that the act of indemnity in Scotland was passed when his majesty was not there, nor any commissioner appointed by him; that it was prepared and drawn by his attorney general of that kingdom, who was then of the party that was against his majesty; and therefore it was no wonder that he called those of his own side, loyal subjects, and good Christians, in the preamble of that act; which was never seen by his majesty, though it was confirmed indeed, with the other acts which had passed in that disorderly time, by his majesty upon the conclusion of the peace, and their return to their obedience; and that, when that should be the case here, he would give them all the appellations they should desire, and as unquestionable security as they could wish." To all which they made no other reply, and that unanimously, "but that they could not believe themselves secure, if that preamble was not entirely consented to."

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[1] It was indeed *horrid and monstrous.* Not for the reason here given, that all resistance of the royal authority was rebellion, but because *this* resistance or war of the parliament on the king was unreasonable and unjust.—W.

This refractory obstinate adherence of the commissioners[1] to their own will, without any shadow of reason, prevailed nothing upon the king; insomuch as he was inclined to run the hazard of the present dissolution of the treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniences and mischiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to sacrifice his honour, and the justice of his cause, to their insolent demand, until he had entered into a serious deliberation with those persons who were about him, of whose affections to him he had all assurance, and of the great abilities and understanding of most of them he had a very just esteem. They all represented to him, from the conference they had with such of the commissioners, who, they were confident, spoke to them as they thought and believed, "that if there were no expedient found out to give more satisfaction upon this first proposition, than his majesty had yet offered, as soon as the commissioners should give account of it to the two houses, they would be presently recalled; and the treaty be at an end: and then it would be universally declared and believed, how untrue soever the assertion was, that the king refused to secure the parliament,[1] and all who had adhered to them, from a prosecution by the law; upon which they thought it to no purpose to proceed further in the treaty: whereas if his majesty had condescended to them in that particular, which concerned the lives and fortunes of the whole kingdom, they would have given him such satisfaction in all other particulars, as a full and happy peace must have ensued."

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[1] If he had broke with the parliament on the subject of the preamble, it had been more to his honour, as a great and wise prince, than breaking with them on the subject of episcopacy, or even of the militia.—W.

Then the lawyers informed him, "that his giving way to a recital in a new law, which was not a declaratory law of what the law was formerly in being, concerning the business in question, and only in a preamble to a law for recalling declarations, &c. did not make their actions lawful, if they were not so before; nor did it take away from those who had adhered to him, any defence or benefit the former laws had given to them; nor would his party be in a worse condition than they had always been: for his majesty had always offered, in all his declarations, that they who followed him, and who were by them called delinquents, should, at all times, submit to a trial by the laws of the land, and if they should be found guilty of any crime, they should not be protected by him. And it was evident, by their not prosecuting any one since they were fallen into their hands, in any legal way, that they do not think their transgressions can be punished by law."

Upon these reasons, and the joint advice and importunity of all about him, as well the divines as the lawyers, the king first delivered a paper in writing to the commissioners, in which he declared, "that nothing that should be put in writing concerning any proposition, or part of any proposition, should be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, if the treaty should break off without effect:" and the commissioners presented another paper in writing, in which they fully consented to that declaration, in the very terms of the said declaration. Thereupon the king consented to pass the first proposition, with the preamble to it, albeit, he said, "that he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to; yet he hoped his good subjects would confess that it was but a part of the price he had paid for their benefit, and the peace of his dominions."

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[1] This shews into what distresses the unjust prosecution of a cause always draws the offending, though successful, when they would repair their mischiefs. The king could not in honour consent to the preamble, and the leaders in parliament were excusable in thinking that without the preamble their life would be at the king's mercy. Pretty much the same may be said with regard to the *militia.*—W.

The first proposition being thus consented to as they could wish, they delivered their second concerning religion and the church; which comprehended "the utter abolishing episcopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised by archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, and alienating their lands, which should be sold to the use and benefit of the commonwealth; the covenant; which was presented to his majesty to take himself, and to impose upon all others: the Common-Prayer and public Liturgy of the church to be abolished, and taken away; and that the reformation of religion, according to the covenant, in such manner as both houses had, or should agree, after consultation with divines, should be settled by act of parliament:" which, the king told them, "exceeded the implicit faith of the church of Rome; which only obliges her proselytes to what she does hold, than to what she shall." It required "the establishing the presbyterian government, the directory, the articles of Christian religion," (a body whereof they presented,) "the suppressing innovations in churches; the better advancement of preaching, the observation of the Lord's day; a bill against pluralities and non-residency; several acts against papists; and the taking and imposing the covenant."

This pregnant proposition, containing so many monstrous particulars, sufficiently warned his majesty, how impossible it would be to give them satisfaction in all; and therefore having, by consenting to the entire first proposition, put it out of their power to break off the treaty, and to tell the people, "that the king, at the entrance into it, had denied to give them any security for their lives and fortunes," he thought it now fit to offer to the commissioners a proposition of his own, that both the parliament, and the people, might clearly discern how much of his own right and dignity he would sacrifice for their peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the designs of those who might endeavour, upon one single proposition, or part of a proposition, to break the treaty.

His own proposition contained, in very few words, but three particulars: 1. "That he might enjoy his liberty: 2.

That his revenue might be restored to him: 3. That an act of oblivion might pass:" which, he very well knew, would be most grateful to those who seemed to value it least, as it would exempt his own friends from a world of illegal and unjust vexations.

The commissioners absolutely refused to send it to the houses, though they had no authority to answer it themselves. They said, "it rather contained an answer to all their propositions, than was a single proposition of his own; and that the sole end of making it was to cajole the people;" which, the king told them, "better became him to do than any body else." But when they peremptorily refused to transmit it to the houses, the king sent an express of his own to deliver it; which being done, after some days deliberation, the houses returned no other answer to the king, "than that his proposition was not satisfactory." In the mean time the commissioners pressed for his answer to the first part of their proposition, for the abolishing of bishops. It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down at large the dispute, and arguments which were used on both sides upon this subject. The commissioners, who would not suffer any of the king's servants to be so much as present when any thing of the treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let loose their own clergy upon the king; who was much better versed in the argument than they were.

That which they urged most, was the common allegations, "that bishop and presbyter in the scripture language signified one and the same thing: that, if the apostles exercised a larger jurisdiction, it had been granted to them as apostles, and concerned not their successors, to whom no such authority had been granted, nor any superiority over other presbyters, who were of the same function with them." Then they inveighed vehemently against "lords bishops; their pride, and lustre;" and as they all behaved themselves with that rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a king, as well as to a bishop. So two of them very plainly and fiercely told the king, "that if he did not consent to the utter abolishing of episcopacy, he would be damned;"[1] with which his majesty was not moved. The men, Jenkins and Spurstow, lived after the return of king Charles the Second, and, according to the modesty of that race of people, came to kiss his majesty's hand, and continued the same zeal in all seditious attempts.

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[1] No better could be expected from such ribalds. Better might have been expected from the king's theology, than that if he did *con-*

The king pressed them with those texts of scripture which have been constantly urged by those who maintain the *jus divinum* of bishops, the authority of the fathers, and the government of all Christian churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the church of England, before and since the reformation, by constant and uniform practice and usage; which could not but be by themselves acknowledged to have been by bishops. The commissioners relieved their ill mannered clergy, and urged, " that whatsoever was not of divine institution might very lawfully be altered;[1] for if it had its original from men, it might by men be changed, or reversed: that episcopacy as it was established in the church by the laws of England, was not that episcopacy that was mentioned or prescribed in scripture; and therefore the laws which supported it might be justly taken away; which, they said, was the reason that had induced many men who were not enemies to episcopacy, to take the covenant; which obliged them to take the present hierarchy away."

In a word they urged " the practice of other reformed churches, and that his majesty insisting upon the preservation of episcopacy, as essentially necessary, was to reproach and condemn them." To which he answered, " that both Calvin and Beza, and most learned men of the reformed churches, had approved and commended the episcopal government in England; and many of them had bewailed themselves, that they were not permitted to retain that government."

Besides all their arguments in public, which his majesty with wonderful acuteness fully answered, and delivered his

sent he should be damned. Which was but the same nonsense predicated.—W.

[1] Both the king and the commissioners understood their *Hooker* very ill, to whom both appealed. He shows that episcopacy, even admitting it to be of divine right, might lawfully be changed to another form of church government.—W.

answers in writing to them, (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto,) they found means in private to advertise the king, that is, such of them who were known to wish well to him, " that they were of his majesty's judgment with reference to the government, which they hoped might yet be preserved, but not by the method his majesty pursued: that all the reasonable hope of preserving the crown, was in dividing the parliament from the army; which could be only done by his giving satisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the church; which would unite the parliament in itself, some few persons excepted, and the city to the parliament; where the presbyterians were most powerful; and this being done, the parliament would immediately have power to reform their army, and to disband those who would not be reformed: that then the king would be removed to London, to perfect that by his own presence in parliament, which should be prepared by this treaty; and then the wording those bills, and the formality of passing them, would give opportunity for many alterations; which, being now attempted, would destroy all, and reconcile the parliament to the army; which would destroy the king: but then, what the king urged as matter of conscience in himself would find respect, reverence, and concurrence." No doubt they, who did make these insinuations, did in truth believe themselves; and did think, as well as wish, that the sequel would be such as they foretold. But that which had more authority with the king, and which nobody about him could put him in mind of, because none of them had been privy to it, was the remembrance of what he had promised concerning the church to the Scots, in the engagement at the Isle of Wight; which he could not but conclude was well known to many of the presbyterians in England: and he thought, that whatever he had promised to do then, upon the bare hope and probability of raising an army, he might reasonably now offer when that army was destroyed, and no hope left of raising another. And thereupon he did, with much reluctancy, offer the same he had then promised to do, because he hoped then it would not be in his power to do it; which was, " to suspend episcopacy for three years, and then upon consultation with divines, amongst which he would nominate twenty to be present, and to consult with them, such a government of the church as should be agreed upon might be established: that he would not force any man to take the covenant, and would have the privilege of his own chapel to use the Common Prayer, and observe the same worship he had used to do; and that all persons, who desired it, might have liberty to take the covenant, and to use the directory: in fine, he consented to all that he had offered in that engagement with reference to the government of the church;" and likewise, " that money should be raised upon the sale of the church lands, and only the old rent should be reserved to the just owners and their successors." These, with some other concessions of less importance, which related to other branches of the same proposition, *magna inter suspiria*, he delivered to the commissioners as his final answer; which the major part of them did then believe would have preserved his majesty from further importunity and vexation in that particular.

The next proposition was concerning the militia; which was their darling; and distinguished the Scots from the English presbyterians; the former never desiring to invade that unquestionable prerogative of the crown; the latter being in truth as fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of presbytery itself; and in that particular concurred even with Cromwell, and made little doubt of subduing him by it in a short time. In this demand they exercised their usual modesty, and, to abridge the substance of it in few words, they required " a power to keep up the present army, and to raise what other armies they pleased for the future; which gave them authority over the persons of all subjects, of what degree or quality soever. Secondly, a power to raise money for the use and maintenance of those forces, in such a manner, and by such ways and means as they should think fit." And hereby they had had the disposal of the estates and fortunes of all men without restraint or limitation. Thirdly, " all forces by land and sea to be managed and disposed as they should think fit, and not otherwise." All this modest power and authority " must be granted to the lords and commons for twenty years." And, as if this had not been enough, they required further, " that in all cases, when the lords and commons shall declare the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, unless the king give his royal assent to such a bill as shall be tendered to him for raising money, the bill shall have the force of an act of parliament, as if he had given his royal assent."

There were other particulars included, of power to the city of London over the militia, and for the Tower of London, of no importance to the king, if he once disposed, and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the rest belonged. Here the king was to consider whether he would wholly grant it, or wholly deny it, or whether he might reasonably hope so to limit it, that they might have authority enough to please them, and he reserve some to himself for his own security. The king had thought with himself, upon revolving all expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propose "that the inhabitants of every county should be the standing militia of the kingdom, to be drawn out of the counties upon any occasions which should occur;" which would prevent all excessive taxes and impositions, when they were to be paid by themselves. But he quickly discerned that such a proposition would be presently called a conspiracy against the army, and so put an end to all other expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant power in such a manner, that it might not appear so monstrous to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and therefore proposed, "that none should be compelled to serve in the war against their wills, but in case of an invasion by foreign enemies: that the power concerning the land forces should be exercised to no other purposes, than for the suppressing of forces which might at any time be raised without the authority and consent of the lords and commons, and for the keeping up and maintaining the forts and garrisons, and the present army, so long as it should be thought fit by both houses of parliament: that what monies should at any time be thought necessary to be raised, should be raised by general and equal taxes, and impositions; and lastly, that all patents and commissions to the purposes aforesaid might be made in the king's name, by warrant signified by the lords and commons, or such other signification as they should direct and authorize."

These limitations were sent to the parliament, who, according to the method they had assumed, soon voted "that the message was unsatisfactory." Hereupon, that he might at least leave some monument and record of his care and tenderness of his people, (for, after his extorted concessions to the so great prejudice of the church, he never considered what might be dangerous to his own person,) he delivered his consent to the proposition itself to the commissioners, with a preamble to this purpose; "that whereas their proposition concerning the militia required a far larger power over the persons and estates of his subjects, than had been ever hitherto warranted by the laws and statutes of the kingdom, yet in regard the present distractions might require more, and trusting in his two houses of parliament, that they would make no further use of the power therein mentioned, after the present distempers should be settled, than should be agreeable to the legal exercise thereof in times past, and for the purposes particularly mentioned in their proposition, and to give satisfaction to his two houses of parliament that he intends a full security to them, and to express his real desires to settle the peace of the kingdom, his majesty doth consent to the proposition concerning the militia as it was desired." This the commissioners did by no means like, nor would acquiesce in, and alleged, "that as the concession must be the subject of an act of parliament, so this preamble must be a part of it, and would administer occasion of difference and dispute upon the interpretation of it; which being so clearly foreseen, ought not to be admitted in any act of parliament, much less in such a one as is to be the principal foundation of a lasting peace of the kingdom." After much vexation of this kind, and importunity of friends, as well as of enemies, and being almost as weary of denying as of granting, he suffered the preamble to be left out, and his consent to be delivered without it.

It may be well wondered at, that, after having so far complied with these three propositions, there should be any pause or hesitation in the debate of the rest. For in that concerning the church, and the other concerning the militia, both the church and the militia of Ireland (though a kingdom distinct, and never subject to the parliament of England, but to the king alone) followed the fate of England, and were in effect comprehended in the same propositions: so that there remained nothing more with reference to that kingdom, "but declaring the peace that was made there with the Irish, to be void;" which they pressed with the same passion, as if they had obtained nothing; although his majesty referred the carrying on the war to them, and told them, "that he knew nothing of the peace, which had been made during his imprisonment, when he could receive no advertisement of what was doing, or done; and therefore he was content that it should be broken, and the war be carried on in such a manner as should please them;" which was all one to their ends and purposes, as what they desired. But this did by no means please them. If the peace were not declared to be actually void, they could not so easily take that vengeance of the marquis of Ormond as they resolved to do. Yet after all these general concessions, which so much concerned himself, and the public,[1] and when the necessity that had obliged him to that unwilling compliance, might well have excused him for satisfying them in all the rest of their demands, when they pressed his consent to what only concerned private and particular persons, as the revoking all honours and grants of offices which he had conferred upon those who had served him faithfully, and to except many of them from pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful censure of the two houses, both for their lives and fortunes; to submit others to pay, for their delinquency in obeying and serving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their several professions and functions, (which exposed all the lawyers and divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin,) it cannot be expressed with what grief and trouble of mind he received those importunities; and, without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingness have died, than submitted to it; but the argument "that he had done so much," was now pressed upon him, (by his friends, and those who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it,) "that he should do more; and since he had condescended to many things which gave himself no satisfaction, he would give so full satisfaction to the parliament, that he might receive that benefit, and the kingdom that peace and security he desired."

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[1] The conscience and the honour of the poor king was in a strange feverish condition. To change the form of church government when his people required it, he might have done with a good conscience. But to give up the whole body of his friends and servants to destruction, though some of the most considerable of them consented, was a sad violation, not only of all the rules of good policy, but of true honour, and he would have died gloriously to avoid that disgrace. He had repented of the like action once before in the case of Strafford, who had written to him to give way to the rage of his enemies against himself, in order to preserve his master.—W.

Many advertisements came from his friends in London, and from other places, "that it was high time that the treaty were at an end, and that the parliament had all his majesty's answers before them, to determine what they would do upon them, before the army drew nearer London, which, infallibly, it would shortly do, as soon as those in the north had finished their work, and Fairfax had reduced Ragland castle, which could not hold out much longer, and which was his last work to do." It was now near the end of October, and the appointed time for the conclusion of the treaty was the fourth of November; and so after all importunities, as well of those who were to suffer, as of those who were to triumph in their sufferings, his majesty's consent was procured to most that was demanded in the rest of the propositions; the king, and all men, conceiving the treaty to be at an end.

The king had, about the middle of October, again delivered his own proposition for his liberty, his revenue, and an act of oblivion, to the commissioners; which they received. And though, at the beginning of the treaty, they had refused to transmit it to the houses, yet now, after so many concessions, they thought fit to send it; and did so as soon as they received it. But no answer was returned. Hereupon, when the treaty was within two days of expiring, his majesty demanded of them, "whether they had received any instructions to treat upon, or to give an answer to his own proposition, which he had delivered to them so long since? or whether they had received any order to prolong the treaty?" To which they answered, "they had not as to either." And when he asked them the same question, the very last hour of the limited time, they made the same answer. So that the whole forty days assigned for the treaty were expired, before they vouchsafed to return any answer to the single proposition the king had made to them. However they told him, "they had received new command to make fresh instance to his majesty, that he would forthwith publish a declaration against the marquis of Ormond; who had very lately declared, that he had authority to make a peace with the Irish rebels; and was then treating with them to that purpose." To which his majesty answered, "that it was not reasonable to press him to publish any declaration against the marquis; since that if the treaty should end happily, the desires of the two houses were satisfied by the concessions he had already made;" and so adhered to his first answer. And conceiving the treaty to be closed, he desired the commissioners, "that since he had departed from so much of his own right to give his two houses satisfaction, they would be a means that he might be pressed no further; since the few things he had not satisfied them in had so near relation to his conscience, that, with the peace of that, he could not yield further; and desired them to use the same eloquence and abilities, by which they had prevailed with him, in representing to the two houses the sad condition of the kingdom, if it were not preserved by this treaty." And so concluded with many gracious expressions for their personal civilities, and other kind expressions; which made impression upon all of them who had any bowels.

All this being past, and the king believing and expecting that the commissioners would take their leave of him the next morning, they came the same night to inform him, "that they had then received new orders and instructions for the continuing and enlarging the treaty for fourteen days longer;" for which his majesty was nothing glad; nor did they in the houses who wished well to him desire that prolongation. For it was easily discerned, that it was moved and prosecuted only by them who did not intend that the treaty itself should have any good effect; which they were not yet ready and prepared enough to prevent, the army not having yet finished what they were to do in all places; and was consented to unskilfully, by those who thought the continuance of the treaty was the best sign that both sides desired peace: and it quickly appeared, by the new instances they made, that delay was their only business. The commissioners, with new importunity and bitterness, begun upon their new instructions, "that the king would immediately publish the declaration against the marquis of Ormond," without any other reasons than those which he had answered before. His majesty answered, "there was no other difference between them but in point of time, whether presently, or at the conclusion of the peace: upon the peace, they had the substance of their desire already granted; and if there were no peace, they had reason to believe that no declaration he should make would be believed or obeyed;" and so adhered to what he had answered formerly.

Then they declared, "that the parliament was not satisfied with his concessions with reference to the church; that the presbyterian government could be exercised with little profit, or comfort, if it should appear to be so shortlived as to continue but for three years; and that they must therefore press the utter extirpating the function of bishops." Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their lands was insisted on; whereas by the king's concessions the old rent was still reserved to them. They said, "the parliament did not intend to force, but only to rectify his conscience;" and, to that end, they added more reasons to convince him in the several points. They repeated their old distinction between the scripture-bishop, and the bishop by law. For the absolute alienation of their lands, they urged many precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience, or necessity, not so visible and manifest as appeared at present; and concluded with their usual threat, "that the consequence of his denial would be the continuance of the public disturbances."

To all which his majesty answered, "that, for the presbyterian government, they might remember that their own first order for the settling it was only for three years; which they then thought a competent time for a probationary law, that contained such an alteration in the state; and therefore they ought to think the same now: and that it might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that time bear the test and examination of it; and that nothing could be a greater honour to that discipline, than its being able to bear that test and examination." He said, "he was well pleased with their expression, that they did not intend to force his conscience; yet the manner of pressing him looked very like it, after he had so solemnly declared that it was against his conscience; that he did concur with them in their distinction of bishops, and if they would preserve the scripture-bishop, he would take away the bishop by law." He confessed, "that necessity might justify or excuse many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive the church of God of an order instituted for continual use, and for establishing a succession of lawful ministers in the church." For the point of sacrilege, he said, "the concurrent opinion of all divines was a much better information to his conscience, what is sacrilege, than any precedents or law of the land could be." Upon the whole matter, he adhered to his former answer in all the particulars, and concluded, "that he could with more comfort cast himself upon God's goodness to support him in, and defend him from, all afflictions, how great soever, that might befall him, than deprive himself of the inward tranquillity of his mind, for any politic consideration that might seem to be a means to restore him."

It must not be forgotten, that the last day, when the treaty was to end, they delivered to the king the votes which the two houses had passed concerning and upon his own message, (which had lain so long in their hands unanswered,) which were in effect, 1. "That from and after such time as the agreements upon this treaty should be ratified by acts of parliament, all his houses, manors, and lands, with the growing rents and profits thereof, and all other legal revenue of the crown should be restored to him, liable to the maintenance of those ancient forts, and castles, and such other legal charges as they were formerly charged withal, or liable to. 2. That he should be then likewise resettled in a condition of honour, freedom, and safety, agreeable to the laws of the land. 3. That an act of indemnity should be then passed with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed upon, with this addition, that it should be declared by act of parliament, that nothing contained in his majesty's propositions should be understood or made use of to abrogate, weaken, or in any degree to impair any agreement in this treaty, or any law, grant, or commission agreed upon by his majesty and the two houses of parliament, in pursuance thereof;" in all which his majesty acquiesced.

The time limited for the prolongation of the treaty was to end upon the one and twentieth of November, and the commissioners believed it so absolutely concluded, that they took their leave of the king, and early the next morning went to Cowes harbour to embark themselves. But the tide not serving to transport them out of the island, that night a messenger arrived with directions to them to continue the treaty till the five and twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three and twentieth, they returned and acquainted his majesty with it.

At the same time, the thundering declaration of the army was published; which declared their full resolution "to change the whole frame of the government, and that they would be contented with no less an alteration;" which, as it was an argument to the king to endeavour all he could to unite the two houses, that they might be able to bear that shock, so it was expected that it would have been no less an argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the king, since their interest was no less threatened than his.

The fresh instances the commissioners made were upon several votes which had passed the two houses against delinquents; and a new proposition concerning those who had engaged themselves against the parliament since the last January, and particularly against the marquis of Ormond. They proposed, "that there should be seven persons, the lord Newcastle, and six others," (who were named,) "who should be excepted from pardon, and their estates forfeited: that the delinquents, in the several classes mentioned in their proposition, should pay for their composition, some a moiety, others a third part of their estates, and other rates, as they were set down; and that all who had been engaged in the land or sea service since January 1647, should pay a full year's value of their whole estates more than the other delinquents; and that none who had been against the parliament should presume to come within either of the courts belonging to the king, queen, or prince, or be capable of any office or preferment, or of serving in parliament, for the space of three years; and that all clergymen who had been against the parliament should be deprived of all their preferments, places, and promotions; which should be all void as if they were naturally dead." To these the king answered, that, to the excepting the seven persons named from pardon, and the forfeiture of their estates, his answer was, that, if they were proceeded against according to the ancient established laws, and could not justify and defend themselves, he would not interpose on their behalf; but he could not, in justice or honour, join himself in any act for taking away the life or estate of any that had adhered to him. For the rates which were to be paid for composition, he referred it to the two houses of parliament, and to the persons themselves, who would be contented to pay it; and he did hope and desire, that they might be moderately dealt with." And for the clergymen, whose preferments he well knew were already disposed of, and in the hands of another kind of clergy, who had deserved so well of the parliament, that it would not be in his power to dispossess them, his majesty desired, "that they might be allowed a third part of what was taken from them, till such time that they, or the present incumbents, should be better provided for." As to the marquis of Ormond, against whom they pressed what they had before done with extraordinary animosity, the king answered, "that since what he had said before" (and which would bring all to pass that they desired) "did not give them satisfaction, he had written a letter," (which he delivered to them, to be sent, and read to them,) "in which he directed him to desist; and said, if he refused to submit to his command, he would then publish such a declaration against his power and his proceedings, as they desired."

And now the second limitation of time for the treaty was at an end. But that night came another vote; which continued it for a day longer, with a command to the commissioners to return on Tuesday morning; which was the eight and twentieth of November: and thereupon they presented two propositions to his majesty, which were to be despatched that day.

The two propositions they sent for one day's work were, the first, concerning Scotland; the other, concerning the church; which they did not think they had yet destroyed enough. For Scotland, they demanded "the king's consent, to confirm by act of parliament such agreements as should be made by both houses with that kingdom, in the security of such thereof who had assisted or adhered to those of the parliament of England, and for the settling and preserving a happy and durable peace between the two nations, and for the mutual defence of each other." The king put them in mind, "that at the beginning of the treaty they had informed him, that their commission was only to treat concerning England and Ireland; and that they had no authority to meddle in any thing that related to Scotland; and that they had thereupon refused to receive a paper from him, which was to preserve the interest of that kingdom; and demanded of them, whether their commission was enlarged;" which they confessed "was not; and that they had presented that paper only in obedience to the order they had received." So that the king easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish, "that the king had rejected whatsoever was tendered to him on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland." To prevent which, he answered, "that as he would join in any agreement, to be confirmed by act of parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy and durable peace between the two nations, and for their mutual defence of each other under him as king of both; so he would secure all who had been formerly engaged with them: but for any new engagement, or confederacy, which they would make hereafter, he would first know what it was, and be advised with in the making it, before he would promise to confirm it." The other business with reference to the church gave him much more trouble. The commissioners pressed him "to consider the exigence of time, and that there was not a whole day left to determine the fate of the kingdom; and that nothing could unite the counsels of those who wished and desired peace, and to live happily under his subjection and obedience, against the bold attempts of the army, which had enough declared and manifested what their intention was, but satisfying the houses fully in what they demanded in that particular." His own council, and the divines, besought him "to consider the safety of his own person, even for the church's and his people's sakes, who had some hope still left whilst he should be preserved, which could not but be attended with many blessings: whereas, if he were destroyed, there was scarce a possibility to preserve them: that the moral and unavoidable necessity that lay upon him, obliged him to do any thing that was not sin; and that, upon the most prudential thoughts which occurred to them, the order which he, with so much piety and zeal, endeavoured to preserve, was much more like to be destroyed by his not complying, than by his suspending it till his majesty and his two houses should agree upon a future government; which, they said, much differed from an abolition of it."

Hereupon he gave them his final answer, "that after such condescensions, and weighed resolutions in the business of the church, he had expected not to be further pressed therein; it being his judgment, and his conscience." He said, "he could not, as he was then informed, abolish episcopacy out of the church; yet, because he apprehended how fatal new distractions might be to the kingdom, and that he believed his two houses would yield to truth, if it were made manifest to them, as he had always declared that he would comply with their demands, if he were convinced in his conscience, he did therefore again desire a consultation with divines, in the manner he had before proposed, and would in the mean time suspend the episcopal power, as well in point of ordination of ministers, as of jurisdiction, till he and the two houses should agree what government should be established for the future. For bishops' lands, he could not consent to the absolute alienation of them from the church, but would consent that leases for lives, or years, not exceeding ninety-nine, should be made for the satisfaction of purchasers or contractors:" little differing from the answer he had formerly given to this last particular: and in all the rest he adhered to his former answers. And the commissioners, having received this his final answer, took their leaves, and the next morning begun their journey towards London.

The king had begun a letter to the prince his son before the first forty days were expired, and continued it, as the treaty was lengthened, even to the hour it was concluded, and finished it the nine and twentieth of November, after the commissioners were departed, and with it sent a very exact copy of all the papers which had passed in the treaty, in the order in which they were passed, fairly engrossed by one of the clerks who attended. But the letter itself was all in his own hand, and contained above six sheets of paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reasons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make those concessions; out of which most of this relation is extracted. And it is almost evident, that the major part of both houses of parliament was, at that time, so far from desiring the execution of all those concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the army, they would have been themselves suitors to have declined the greatest part of them. That which seemed to afflict him most, next what referred to the church and religion, and which, he said, "had a large share in his conscientious considerations," was the hard measure his friends were subjected to; for whose interest he did verily believe he should better provide in the execution of the treaty, than he had been able to do in the preliminaries. For, he said, "he could not but think, that all who were willing that he should continue their king, and to live under his government, would be far from desiring in the conclusion to leave so foul a brand upon his party, of which they would all desire to be accounted for the time to come. However, he hoped that all his friends would consider, not what he had submitted to, but how much he had endeavoured to relieve them from;" and conjured the prince his son, "that the less he had been able himself to do for them, the more, if God blessed him, he should acknowledge and supply." He said, "he would willingly forget in how high degree some subjects had been disloyal, but never had prince a testimony in others of more loyalty than he had had; and however that God, for their and his punishment, had not blessed some of their endeavours, yet, he said, more misguided persons were at last reduced to their loyalty, than could in any story be exampled; and that, by that, subjects might learn how dangerous the neglect of seasonable duty is; and that men cannot easily fix when they please what they have unnecessarily shaken." The conclusion of the letter, as it was dated the five and twentieth of November, (what was added to it after, till the nine and twentieth, was but the additional passages upon the enlargement of time,) deserves to be preserved in letters of gold, and gives the best character of that excellent prince; and was in these words.

"By what hath been said,[1] you see how long we have laboured in the search of peace: do not you be disheartened to tread in the same steps. Use all worthy ways to restore yourself to your right, but prefer the way of peace; show the greatness of your mind, if God bless you, (and let us comfort you with that which is our own comfort, that though affliction may make us pass under the censures of men, yet we look upon it so, as if it procure not, by God's mercy, to us a deliverance, it will to you a blessing,) rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning, than punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable disposition is in our ill-willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure us not for having parted with so much of our own right; the price was great, but the commodity was security to us, peace to our people: and we were confident, another parliament would remember how useful a king's power is to a people's liberty; of how much thereof we divested ourself, that we and they might meet once again in a due parliamentary way, to agree the bounds of prince and people. And in this give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative, than that which is really and intrinsically for the good of subjects, not the satisfaction of favourites.[2] If you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any you would be extraordinary gracious to. You may perceive all men intrust their treasure where it returns them interest; and if princes, like the sea, receive, and repay all the fresh streams the river intrusts with them, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an ocean. These considerations may make you as great a prince, as your father is now a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For our subjects have learned (we dare say) that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves; and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The English nation are a sober people, however at present infatuated.

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[1] *For this letter see the Clarendon State Papers.*

[2] Here the king seems to be more ingenuous than on any other occasion.—W.

"We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you, or the world, publicly: we are sensible into what hands we are fallen; and yet, we bless God, we have those inward refreshments the malice of our enemies cannot perturb. We have learned to busy ourself by retiring into ourself; and therefore can the better digest what befalls us; not doubting but God's providence will restrain our enemies' power, and turn their fierceness to his praise.

"To conclude, if God gives you success, use it humbly and far from revenge. If he restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. These men, who have forced laws, which they were bound to preserve, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this world worth the obtaining by foul and unjust means.

"You are the son of our love, and as we direct you to weigh what we here recommend to you, so we assure you, we do not more affectionately pray for you, (to whom we are a natural parent,) than we do, that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour; and that all our subjects (to whom we are a politic parent) may have such sober thoughts, as to seek their peace in the orthodox profession of the Christian religion, as was established since the reformation in this kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practice, may once again be a hedge about them; that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of God; which is the prayer of

"Your very loving father, *C. R.*"

Newport, *25th Nov.* 1648.

Whilst the treaty lasted, it was believed that his majesty might have made his escape; which most men who wished him well thought in all respects ought to have been attempted; and he himself was inclined to it, thinking any liberty preferable to the restraint he had endured. But he did receive some discouragement from pursuing that purpose, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some persons in France were that he should have made his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; which, without doubt, was not from want of tenderness of his safety,[1] but from the apprehension they had, that the little respect they would have shewed him there, would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could suffer by the closest imprisonment. And sure there was, at that time, no court in Christendom so honourably or generously constituted, that it would have been glad to have seen him. Once afterwards he did endeavour to make an escape out of his window, having, as he thought, such provision made for him, that if he had been out of his chamber, he might have been conveyed out of their reach; but he was deceived by a vulgar assertion, that where the head can out, the whole body will follow; and so having made an experiment with his head between the bars of the window, he concluded that he could easily have got out that way; but when he thought to have executed it, and had his head out, and used all the motions he could to draw his body after him, he found himself so straitened, that he could get neither backward nor forward; and after much pain sustained to no purpose, he was forced to call out for some to come to his relief; and so he was from without and from within helped back into his chamber, which put an end to all attempts of that kind; and it was then believed that he was betrayed into that design, and that Rolph, who was afterwards accused of it, expected his descent from his window, with a purpose to have murdered him. And it might be some reason that they who wished him very well did not wish his escape, because they believed imprisonment was the worst his worst enemies intended towards him;[1] since they might that way more reasonably found and settle their republican government; which men could not so prudently propose to bring to pass by a murder; which, in the instant, gave the just title to another who was at liberty to claim his right, and to dispute it. Before the treaty, and after the votes and declarations of no more addresses, when his treatment was so barbarous, his majesty had proposed to himself to make an escape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but such persons who were placed by those who wished worst to his safety; and therefore chose such instruments as they thought to be of their own principles. Amongst those there was a young man, one Osborne, by extraction a gentleman; who was recommended by the lord Wharton (one who deserved not to be suspected by Cromwell himself) to colonel Hammond, to be placed in some near attendance about the king; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitness of the man, immediately appointed him to wait as gentleman usher; which gave him opportunity to be almost always in the presence of the king. This young man, after some months' attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the king's carriage, and the great affability he used towards those who were always about him, to have a tenderness and loyal sense of his sufferings; and did really desire to do him any service that might be acceptable. By his office of gentleman usher he usually held the king's gloves when he was at meat, and first took that opportunity to put a little billet, in which he expressed his devotion, into one of the fingers of his glove. The king was not forward or over credulous of the professions of a person he knew so little, and who, he knew, would not be suffered to be about him, if he were thought to have those inclinations. However, after longer observation, and sometimes speaking to him whilst he was walking amongst others in the garden allowed for that purpose, his majesty begun to believe that there was sincerity in him; and so frequently put some memorial into fingers of his glove, and by the same expedient received advertisement from him.

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[1] The Queen of England. She was unwilling the king should interrupt her commerce with Jermyn. See page 2292.—W.

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[1] A strange infatuation! after the superiority of the army and their principles were so well known to all. The fatal effects of fanaticism can only be avoided by eluding it, till its violence be worked off. So that nothing but the king's escape out of their hands was reasonably to be thought of.---W.

There was in the garrison one Rolph, a captain of a foot company, whom Cromwell placed there as a prime confident, a fellow of a low extraction, and very ordinary parts; who, from a common soldier, had been trusted in all the intrigues of the army, and was one of the agitators inspired by Cromwell to put any thing into the soldiers' minds, upon whom he had a wonderful influence, and could not contain himself from speaking maliciously and wickedly against the king, when dissimulation was at the highest amongst the great officers. This man grew into great familiarity with Osborne, and knowing from what person he came recommended to that trust, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and so, according to his custom of reviling the king, he wished "he were out of the world; for they should never make any settlement whilst he was alive. He said, he was sure the army wished him dead, and that Hammond had received many letters from the army to take him away by poison, or any other way; but he saw it would never be done in that place; and therefore, if he would join with him, they would get him from thence; and then the work would easily be done." Osborne asked him, "how it could be possible to remove him from thence, without Hammond's or the king's own consent?" Rolph answered, "that the king might be decoyed from thence, as he was from Hampton Court, by some letters from his friends, of some danger that threatened him, upon which he would be willing to make an escape; and then he might easily be despatched." Osborne shortly found an opportunity to inform the king of all this.

The king bid him "continue his familiarity with Rolph, and to promise to join with him in contriving how his majesty should make an escape;" and he hoped thereby to make Rolph's villany the means of getting away. He recommended one of the common soldiers to Osborne, "who, he said, he thought might be trusted;" and wished him "to trust one Doucet;" whom the king had known before, and who was then placed to wait upon him at his back stairs, and was indeed an honest man; for it was impossible for him to make an escape, without the privity of such persons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the castle, as well as help him from thence. Osborne told Rolph, "he was confident he should in the end persuade the king to attempt an escape, though he yet seemed jealous and apprehensive of being discovered, and taken again." Doucet concurred very willingly in it, and the soldier who was chosen by the king proved likewise very honest, and wrought upon one or two of his companions who used to stand sentinels at the place where the king intended to get out. All things were provided; and the king had a file and saw; with which he had, with wonderful trouble, sawed an iron bar in the window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readiness, the night was appointed, and Osborne at the place where he was to receive the king. But one of the soldiers informed Rolph of all which Osborne had not done; by which he concluded that he was false, and directed the soldier to proceed, and stand sentinel in the same place to which he had been assigned; and he, and some others trusted by him, were armed, and stood very near with their pistols. At midnight the king came to the window, resolving to go out; but as he was putting himself out, he discerned more persons to stand thereabout than used to do, and thereupon suspected that there was some discovery made; and so shut the window, and retired to his bed. And this was all the ground of a discourse, which then flew abroad, as if the king had got half out at the window, and could neither draw his body after, nor get his head back, and so was compelled to call out for help; which was a mere fiction.

Rolph acquainted Hammond with what the king had designed; who presently went into his chamber, and found the king in his bed, but the bar of the window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and presently seized upon Doucet, but could not apprehend Osborne; who was either fled out of the island, or concealed in it that he could not be found. Rolph could not forbear to insult upon Doucet in prison, and scornfully asked him, "why his king came not forth when he was at the window?" and said, he was ready with a good pistol charged to have received him." When Osborne had got into a place of present safety, he writ a letter to his patron the lord Wharton, informing him of the whole matter; and desired him, "to acquaint the house of peers of the design upon the king's life, and that he would be ready to appear and justify the conspiracy." The good lord, after he had kept the letter some time, sent it to Hammond, as the fittest person to examine the truth of the relation. Osborne was not discouraged with all this; but sent two letters to the speakers of both houses, and enclosed the letter he had formerly writ to the lord Wharton. In the house of commons the information was slighted, and laid aside; but it made more impression upon the house of peers; who sent, with more than ordinary earnestness, to the commons, "that Rolph might be sent for, and a safe-guard for forty days to Osborne to appear, and prosecute."

Rolph brought with him a large testimonial from Hammond of his "integrity, and of the many good services he had done to the state." Osborne appeared likewise at the lords' bar, and made good upon oath all that is before set down, and undertook to produce other evidence. The house of commons had no mind to have it examined further; but the clamour of the people was so great, that, after many delays, they voted "that it should be tried at the general assizes at Winchester." And thither they sent their well-tried sergeant Wild, to be the sole judge of that circuit: before whom the major part of the same jury that had found captain Burley guilty was impannelled for the trial of Rolph. Osborne, and Doucet, who upon bail had liberty to be there, appeared to make good the indictment; and, upon their oaths, declared all that Rolph had said to them, as is set down before. The prisoner, if he may be called a prisoner who was under no restraint, had two lawyers assigned to be of council with him, contrary to the law and custom in those cases: but he needed not to have had any council but the judge himself; who told the jury, "that it was a business of great importance that was before them; and therefore that they should take heed what they did in it: that there was a time indeed when intentions and words were treason, but God forbid it should be so now: how did any body know but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet, would have made away the king, and that Rolph charged his pistol to preserve him? or, perhaps they would have carried him away to have engaged them in a second war." He told them, "they were mistaken who did believe the king in prison; the parliament did only keep him safe to save the shedding of more blood." Upon these good directions, the grand jury found an *ignoramus* upon the bill; and this was some months before the treaty.

When the commissioners, who had treated with the king at the Isle of Wight, were returned to the parliament, their report took up many days in the house of commons, where the resolution was first to be taken; which commonly was final, the lords rarely presuming to contradict what the others thought fit to determine. The question upon the whole was, "whether the answer that the king had made to their propositions was satisfactory?" which was debated with all the virulence and acrimony towards each other, that can fall from men so possessed as both sides were.

Young sir Harry Vane had begun the debate with the highest insolence and provocation; telling them, "that they should that day know and discover, who were their friends, and who were their foes; or, that he might speak more plainly, who were the king's party in the house, and who were for the people;" and so proceeded with his usual grave bitterness against the person of the king, and the government that had been too long settled; put them in mind, "that they had been diverted from their old settled resolution and declaration, that they would make no more addresses to the king; after which the kingdom had been governed in great peace, and begun to taste the sweet of that republican government which they intended and begun to establish, when, by a combination between the city of London and an ill affected party in Scotland, with some small contemptible insurrections in England, all which were fomented by the city, the houses had, by clamour and noise, been induced and compelled to reverse their former votes and resolution, and enter into a personal treaty with the king; with whom they had not been able to prevail, notwithstanding the low condition he was in, to give them any security; but he had still reserved a power in himself, or at least to his posterity, to exercise as tyrannical a government as he had done: that all the insurrections, which had so terrified them, were now totally subdued; and the principal authors and abettors of them in their custody, and ready to be brought to justice, if they pleased to direct, and appoint it: that their enemies in Scotland were reduced, and that kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good correspondence with their brethren, the parliament of England; so that there was nothing wanting, but their own consent and resolution, to make themselves the happiest nation and people in the world; and to that purpose desired, that they might, without any more loss of time, return to their former resolution of making no more addresses to the king; but proceed to the settling the government without him, and to the severe punishment of those who had disturbed their peace and quiet, in such an exemplary manner, as might terrify all other men for the future from making the like bold attempts: which, he told them, they might see would be most grateful to their army, which had merited so much from them by the remonstrance they had so lately published."

This discourse appeared to be exceedingly disliked, by that kind of murmur which usually shews how the house stands inclined, and by which men make their judgments there, of the success that is like to be. And his preface, and entrance into the debate, were taken notice of with equal sharpness; and, "his presumption in taking upon himself to divide the house, and to censure their affections to the public, as their sense and judgment should agree, or disagree, with his own." And since "he had, without example, taken so much upon him, he was not to take it ill, if the contrary was assumed by other men; and that it was as lawful for another man, who said he was no gainer by the troubles, to make another division of the house, and to say, that they should find in the debate of that day, that there were some who were desirous of peace; and that they were all losers, or, at least, no gainers by the war; and that others were against peace; and that they by the war had gained large revenues, and great sums of money, and much wealth; and therefore his motion was, that the gainers might contribute to the losers, if they would not consent that the one might enjoy what was left, and the other possess what they had got, by a peace that might be happy for both."

Whilst this was debating in the house, which continued several days, six officers, from the head-quarters at Windsor, whither the army had been brought before, or at the time when the treaty ended at the Isle of Wight, brought their large remonstrance to the house; in which they desired, "that there might be no further proceedings upon the treaty; but that they would return to their former determination of no further addresses, and make what haste they could in settling the government: that the bargaining proposition on the behalf of delinquents, which was only upon a contract with the king, and not in any judicial way, might be laid aside, and that public justice might be done upon the principal actors in the late troubles, and that others, upon a true submission, might find mercy: that a peremptory day might be set, when the prince of Wales and the duke of York should be required to appear; which if they should not do, they should stand exiled as traitors; and if they should appear, yet they should be bound to make some satisfaction: that an end might be put to this parliament, and a new representative chosen of the people, for the governing and preserving the whole body of the nation. That no king might be hereafter admitted but upon election of the people, and as upon trust for the people, who should be likewise limited and restrained by the representative;" with many other impracticable particulars, which troubled the parliament the less for their incoherence, and impossibility to be reduced into practice.

But that which troubled most, and indeed which awakened them to the most dismal apprehensions, was, that they were advertised, that the king was taken away from Carisbrook castle by an officer of the army, and carried to Hurst castle, not far from the other, and in so vile and unwholesome an air, that the common guards there used to be frequently changed for the preservation of their health. Colonel Hammond had, before the expiration of the treaty, writ many letters to the parliament, to be discharged from that government, and from the care of the king's person; and the officers of the army seemed wonderfully offended with him for making the demand; and he got himself looked upon as under a cloud. But the treaty was no sooner ended, (and before the commissioners begun their report to the houses,) but he was discharged of the government, and another colonel sent to take the person of the king, and to carry him to Hurst castle.

This news being brought when they were in the heat of the debate upon the king's answer, they gave over that contest, and immediately voted, "that the seizing upon the king's person, and carrying him prisoner to Hurst castle, was without their advice and consent:" which vote had no contradiction, because no man would own the advice. Then they caused a letter to be written to the general, "that the orders and instructions to colonel Ewre" (the officer who had seized the king) "were contrary to their resolutions, and instructions to colonel Hammond; and therefore, that it was the pleasure of the house, that he should recall those orders; and that colonel Hammond should again resume the government of the Isle of Wight." But the general, without taking any notice of their complaint, or of their command, demanded the payment of the arrears due to the army; and told them, "that, unless there were present money sent to that purpose, he should be forced to remove the army, and to draw them nearer to London." And at the same time a new declaration was sent to the house from the army, in pursuance of their late remonstrance; which the house refused to take into consideration; and some sturdy members moved, "that the army might be declared traitors, if they presumed to march nearer London than they were at present; and that an impeachment of high treason might be drawn up against the principal officers of it." Hereupon, the general marches directly for London, and quarters at Whitehall; the other officers, with their troops, in Durham House, the Mews, Covent Garden, Westminster, and St. James's; and for the present necessity, that no inconvenience might fall out, they sent to the city without delay to supply forty thousand pounds, to be immediately issued out to satisfy the army. Notwithstanding all which monstrous proceeding, the house of commons retained its courage, and were resolute "to assert the treaty; and that the king's answers were satisfactory; or if they were not fully satisfactory, that the house might and ought to accept thereof, and proceed to the settlement of peace in church and state, rather than to reject them as unsatisfactory, and thereby continue the kingdom in war and distraction."

They who vehemently pressed this conclusion, and would be thought to be for the king, to make themselves popular, took upon them to make all the invectives both against the king, and all the time of his government, that his bitterest enemies could do, only that they might shew how much the concessions he had now granted had provided remedies for all those evils, and made all the foundation of their future hope of happiness and peace to be in the no-power they had left him in: so that if he should have a mind to continue the distractions to-morrow, he would find nobody ready ever to join with him, having at this time sacrificed all his friends to the mercy of their mortal enemies. In conclusion, and when they had prosecuted the debate most part of the night, till almost five of the clock in the morning, on Monday night, they had first put the question, "whether the question should be put?" and carried it by a hundred and forty voices against one hundred and four: the main question, "That the answer of the king to the propositions of both houses was a ground for the houses to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom," was so clearly voted, that the house was not divided; and, that there might be no afterclaps, they appointed a committee "to confer with the general, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correspondence between the army and the parliament;" and then they adjourned the house to Wednesday morning, it being then near the morning of Tuesday.

The committee that was appointed to confer with the general waited that afternoon upon him in his lodging at Whitehall, that they might be able to give some account to the house the next morning. But they were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his presence; and then he told them sullenly and superciliously, "that the way to correspond with the army, was to comply with their remonstrance:" and the next morning there was a guard of musketeers placed at the entry into and door of the house, and the officers thereof having a list in their hands of the names of those who should be restrained from going into the house, all those were stopped, one by one, as they came, and sent into the court of wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a guard, to the number of near one hundred. Notwithstanding which, there were so many of the same opinion got into the house, through the inadvertency of the guard, or because they meant only to sequester the most notorious and refractory persons, that the debate, upon resuming the same question, continued very long; several members who observed the force at the entrance of the house, and saw their companions not suffered to come in, complained loudly of the violence and breach of privilege, and demanded remedy; but in vain; the house would take no notice of it. In the conclusion, after a very long debate, the major part of those who were present in the house voted the negative to what had been settled in the former debate, and "that the answer the king had given to their propositions was not satisfactory."

Those gentlemen who for some hours had been restrained in the court of wards were afterwards led in triumph through Westminster-hall, (except some few, who were suffered for affection, or by negligence, to go away,) by a strong guard, to that place under the exchequer which is commonly called Hell; where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleased. And here they were kept in one room, till after twelve of the clock in the night: after which hour, in respect of the extreme cold weather, and the age of many of the members, they were carried to several inns; where they were suffered to lodge as prisoners, and remained under that confinement for two or three days. In which time, they published a protestation in print against the proceedings of the house of commons, declaring "the force and violence that had been used against them:" and then the house, with the remaining members, having determined what they thought fit, the other were at liberty to do what they pleased. Nobody owned this act of violence in the exclusion of so many members: there was no order made for it by the house. Fairfax the general knew nothing of it, and the guards themselves being asked "what authority they had," gave no other answer "but that they had orders." But afterwards there was a full and clear order of the house, without taking notice of any exclusion, "that none of them who had not been present that day when the negative vote prevailed should sit any more in the house, before they had first subscribed the same vote, as agreeable to their judgments; which if they subscribed, they were as well qualified members as before." Many of these excluded members, out of conscience or indignation, forbore coming any more to the house for many years; some, not before the revolution; others, sooner or later, returned to their old seats, that they might not be idle when so much business was to be done.

Then they renewed their old votes of no more addresses, and annulled and made void all those which introduced the treaty:[1] and, that they might find no more such contradiction hereafter, they committed to several prisons major general Brown, (though he was then sheriff of London,) sir John Clotworthy, sir William Waller, major general Massey, and commissary general Copley, who were the most active members in the house of the presbyterian party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the service of the parliament in their several stations against the king as any men of their rank in the kingdom, and much more than any officer of the present army had then credit to do: of these, Massey made his escape, and transported himself into Holland; and there, according to the natural modesty of that sect, presented himself to the prince, with as much confidence (and as a sufferer for the king his father) as if he had defended Colchester.

The protestation that the secluded members had published and caused to be printed, with the narrative of the violence that had been exercised upon them, and their declaring all acts to be void which from that time had been done in the house of commons, made a great noise over the kingdom, and no less incensed those who remained and sat in the house, than it did the officers of the army; and therefore, to lessen the credit of it, the house likewise made a declaration against that protestation; and declared it "to be false, scandalous, and seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom;" and to this wonderful declaration they obtained the concurrence of the small house of peers, and jointly ordained, "that that protestation should be suppressed, and that no man should presume to sell, or buy, or to read the same."[1]

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[1] These, and the whole crew of the presbyterian faction, had doubtless as much to answer for overturning the constitution as the independents themselves. The preparation and beginning of all this mischief was the work of the presbyterians, because the independents, by reason of their want of credit and power, were unable to do it. The achievement was the work of the independents. And the opposition they now met with was more from the presbyterian aversion to the independents, than from any horror they had of the work, or repentance for what they had contributed towards it.—W.

When they had in this manner mastered all contradiction and opposition, they begun more directly to consult what they were to do, as well as what they were not to do, and to establish some affirmative conclusions, as they had done negatives. They were told, "that it was high time to settle some form of government, under which the nation was to live: there had been much treasure and blood spent to recover the liberty of the people, which would be to no purpose if there were not provision made for their secure enjoying it; and there would be always the same attempts made, which had been of late, to disturb and to destroy the public peace, if there were not such exemplary penalties inflicted, as might terrify all men, of what condition soever, from entering upon such desperate undertakings." They resolved to gratify the army, by taking a view of a paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new government, which was called *the agreement of the people*, and for contriving and publishing whereof, one of the agitators had been, by Cromwell's directions, the year before, shot to death, when he found the parliament was so much offended with it. They declared now, as the most popular thing they could do to please both the people and the army, "that they would put an end to the parliament on the last day of April next; and that there should be a representative of the nation, consisting of three hundred persons chosen by the people; of which, for the term of seven years, no person who had adhered to the king, or who should oppose this agreement, or not subscribe thereunto, should be capable of being chosen to be one, or to have a voice in the election; and that, before that time, and before the dissolution of the present parliament, it would be necessary to bring those signal delinquents, who had lately disturbed the quiet and peace of the kingdom, and put it to so great an expense of blood and treasure, to exemplary punishment." And it was with great impudence very vehemently urged, "that they ought to begin with him who had been the cause of all the miseries, and mischiefs, which had befallen the kingdom, and whom they had already divested of all power and authority to govern them for the future; and they had already had near two years' experience, that the nation might be very happily governed without any recourse to him: that they had already declared, and the house of peers had concurred with them, that the king had been the cause of all the blood which had been spilt; and therefore, that it was fit that such a man of blood should be brought to justice, that he might undergo the penalty that was due to his tyranny and murders: that the people expected this at their hands; and that having the principal malefactor in their power, he might not escape the punishment that was due to him."

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[1] The two houses were now lost to all sense of right and wrong. —W.

How new and monstrous soever this language and discourse was to all English ears, they found a major part still to concur with them: so that they appointed a committee for the present "to prepare a charge of high treason against the king, which should contain the several crimes and misdemeanours of his reign; which being made ready, they would consider of the best way and manner of proceeding, that he might be brought to justice."

This manner of proceeding in England was so unheard of, that it was very hard for any body to propose any way to oppose it that might carry with it any hope of success. However, the pain the prince was in would not suffer him to rest without making some effort. He knew too well how far the States of Holland were from wishing that success and honour to the crown of England, as it had deserved from them, and how much they had always favoured the rebellion; that his own presence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them; and that they were devising all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believed the way they were now upon in England would be so universally odious to all Christians, that no body of men would appear to favour it. His highness therefore sent to the States General, to desire them "to give him an audience the next day; and that he would come to the place where they sat;" which he did, being met by the whole body at the bottom of the stairs, and conducted into the room where they sat.

The prince was attended by four or five of his council; and when he had said a little to the States of compliment, he referred them to a paper which sir William Boswell, the king's resident there, was to deliver to them. The paper shortly described the ill condition the king his father was in; and the threats and menaces which his enemies used to proceed against him in such a manner as must be abominated by all Christians, and which would bring the greatest reproach and obloquy upon the protestant religion, that ever Christianity had undergone: and therefore desired them, "that they would interpose their credit, and authority, in such a manner as they thought fit, with the two houses at Westminster, that, instead of such an unlawful and wicked prosecution, they would enter into terms of accommodation with his royal father; for the observation whereof his royal highness would become bound."

The States assured his highness, "that they were very much afflicted at the condition of the king, and would be glad any interposition of theirs might be able to relieve him; that they would seriously consider in what manner they might serve him." And, that day, they resolved to send an extraordinary ambassador into England, who should repair to the prince of Wales, and receive his instructions to what friends of the king's he should resort, and consult with; who, being upon the place, might best inform him to whom to apply himself. And they made choice of Paw, the pensioner of Holland, for their ambassador; who immediately attended the prince with the offer of his service, and many professions of his desire that his journey might produce some good effect.

The council that was about the prince had looked upon Paw as a man that had always favoured the rebellion in England, and as much obstructed all civilities from the States towards the king, as was possible for him to do; and therefore they were very sorry that he was made choice of for ambassador in such a fatal conjuncture. But the prince of Orange assured the prince, "that he had used all his credit to compass that election; that he was the wisest man of their body; and that neither he, nor any of the rest, who had cherished the English rebellion more than he, ever desired it should prosper to that degree it had done, as to endanger the changing the government;" and therefore wished "there might not appear any distrust of him, but that the prince would treat him with confidence, and some of the council would confer with him with freedom, upon any particulars which it would be necessary for him to be instructed in." But the wisdom of angels was not sufficient to give any effectual advice for such a negociation, since the States could not be brought so much to interest themselves, as to use any menaces to the parliament as if they would embark themselves in the quarrel. So that the council could only wish, "that the ambassador would confer with such of the king's friends who were then at London, and whose relation had been most eminent towards his majesty; and receive advice from them, how he might most hopefully prevail over particular men, and thereby with the parliament." And so the ambassador departed for England, within less than a week after he was nominated for the employment.

At the same time, the queen of England, being struck to the heart[1] with amazement and confusion upon the report of what the parliament intended, sent a paper to the agent who was employed there by the cardinal to keep a good correspondence; which she obliged him to deliver to the parliament. The paper contained a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the king her husband was in; desiring "that they would grant her a pass to come over to him, offering to use all the credit she had with him, that he might give them satisfaction. However, if they would not give her leave to perform any of those offices towards the public, that she might be permitted to perform the duty she owed him, and to be near him in the uttermost extremity." Neither of these addresses did more than express the zeal of those who procured them to be made: the ambassador Paw could neither get leave to see the king, (which he was to endeavour to do, that he might from himself be instructed best what to do,) nor be admitted to an audience by the parliament, till after the tragedy was acted: and the queen's paper was delivered, and never considered in order to return any answer to it.

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[1] She might well be so, when she had defeated the only means of preventing this dreadful catastrophe, by discouraging his rescue out of Carisbrook castle, and his escape into France.—W.

When the committee had prepared such a charge, which they called "an impeachment of high treason against Charles Stewart, king of England," digested into several articles, which contained all those calumnies they had formerly digested into that declaration of no more addresses to be made to him, with some additional reproaches, it was read in the house; and, after it was approved there, they sent it to the house of peers for their concurrence. That house had very little to do from the time that Cromwell returned from Scotland, and were few in number, and used to adjourn for two or three days together for want of business; so that it was believed, that they who had done so many mad things, rather than they would dissent from the house of commons, would likewise concur with them in this, rather than sever from them when they were so triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this impeachment was brought up to the peers, it was so ill received, that there was not one person who concurred with them; which, considering the men and what most of them had done, might seem very strange. And when they had, with some warmth, rejected it, they adjourned for a week; presuming they should thereby at least give some interruption to that career which the house of commons was upon, and, in that time, some expedient might be found to reconcile the proceedings in both houses. But they were as much deceived in this; the house of commons was very well pleased with it, and thought they had given them ease, which they could not so well have contrived for themselves. So they proceeded in their own method, and when the day came to which the lords had adjourned their house, they found their doors all locked, and fastened with padlocks, that there should then be no more entrance for them ; nor did any of them ever after sit in that house as peers, till Cromwell, long after, endeavoured in vain to have erected a house of peers of his own creation; in which some of them then very willingly took their places.

The charge and accusation, upon which they resolved to proceed against the king, being thus settled and agreed upon, they begun to consider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be some appearance of justice. Nothing could be found in the common or statute law, which could direct or warrant them; nor could the precedent of deposing Richard the Second (the sole precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpose : for, how foul soever the circumstances precedent had been, he had made a resignation of his royalty before the lords in parliament; so that his deposition proceeded from himself, and with his own consent, and would not agree in any particular with the case in question. So that they must make a new form to warrant their proceedings : and a new form they did erect, never before heard of. They constituted and erected a court that should be called "*the high court of justice*, to consist of so many judges, who should have authority to try the king, whether he were guilty of what he was accused of, or no ; and, in order thereunto, to examine such witnesses as should be produced :" the number of the judges to be eight and forty, whereof the major part might proceed.

They could not have found such a number yet amongst themselves, after so many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this last tragical act. And therefore they laid this for a ground ; that if they should make only their own members to be judges in this case, they might appear in the eyes of the people to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintained a war, though defensive, as they pretended, against the king, and so not so fit to be the only judges who were in the fault : on the other hand, if they should name none of themselves, it might be interpreted that they looked upon it as too dangerous a province to engage themselves in, and therefore they had put it off to others ; which would discourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they resolved, that the judges should be nominated promiscuously, as well of members of the house, as of such other of their good and godly men in the kingdom as they should think fit to nominate. Whosoever would not be one himself when named, as there were yet many amongst them, who, out of conscience, or of fear, utterly protested against it, should take upon him to name another man; which sure he could not but think was equally unlawful: so that few took upon them to nominate others, who would reject the province themselves.

All the chief officers of the army were named, and divers accepted the office; and such aldermen and citizens of London, as had been most violent against peace, and some few country gentlemen, whose zeal had been taken notice of for the cause, and who were like to take such a preferment as a testimony of the parliament's confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When such a number of men were nominated as were thought in all respects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a speaker, or prolocutor, who should be called lord president of that high court, who must manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the witnesses all proper questions, and answer what the prisoner should propose. And to that office one Bradshaw was chosen, a lawyer of Gray's inn, not much known in Westminster-hall, though of good practice in his chamber, and much employed by the factious and discontented persons. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Cheshire and Lancashire, but of a fortune of his own making. He was not without parts, and of great insolence and ambition. When he was first nominated, he seemed much surprised, and very resolute to refuse it; which he did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want of abilities to undergo so important a charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that apology. And when he was pressed with more importunity than could have been used by chance, he required "time to consider of it;" and said, "he would then give his final answer;" which he did the next day; and with great humility accepted the office, which he administered with all the pride, impudence, and superciliousness imaginable. He was presently invested in great state, and many officers and a guard assigned for the security of his person, and the dean's house at Westminster given to him for ever for his residence and habitation, and a good sum of money, about five thousand pounds, was appointed to be presently paid to him, to put himself in such an equipage and way of living, as the dignity of the office which he held would require. And now, the lord president of the high court of justice seemed to be the greatest magistrate in England. And though it was not thought seasonable to make any such declaration, yet some of those whose opinions grew quickly into ordinances, upon several occasions, declared, "that they believed that office was not to be looked upon as necessary *pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that he who executed it deserved to have an ample and a liberal estate conferred upon him for ever:" which sudden mutation and exaltation of fortune could not but make a great impression upon a vulgar spirit, accustomed to no excesses, and acquainted only with a very moderate fortune. All this being done, they made choice of some lawyers (eminent for nothing but their obscurity, and that they were men scarce known or heard of in their profession) to perform the offices of attorney general, and solicitor general for the state, to prosecute the prisoner at his trial, and to manage the evidence against him. Other officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the several offices of their new court; which was ordered to be erected in Westminster-hall; for which such architects were appointed as were thought fit to give direction therein.

The king was now sent for from Hurst castle, and when he came out of the boat which transported him from thence he was received by colonel Harrison with a strong party of horse; by whom he was to be conducted to Windsor castle. Harrison was the son of a butcher near Nantwich in Cheshire, and had been bred up in the place of a clerk under a lawyer of good account in those parts; which kind of education introduces men into the language and practice of business, and, if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the person, imbues young men with more pride than any other kind of breeding; and disposes them to be pragmatical and insolent, though they have the skill to conceal it from their masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When the rebellion first began, this man quitted his master, (who had relation to the king's service, and discharged his duty faithfully,) and put himself into the parliament army; where, having first obtained the office of a cornet, he got up, by diligence and sobriety, to the state of a captain, without any signal notice taken of him till the new model of the army; when Cromwell, who, possibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his service, much given to prayer and to preaching, and, otherwise, of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business; to which his clerkship contributed very much: and then he was preferred very fast; so that, by the time the king was brought to the army, he had been a colonel of horse, and looked upon as inferior to few, after Cromwell and Ireton, in the council of officers and in the government of the agitators; and there were few men with whom Cromwell more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the conduct of any thing committed to him. He received the king with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any address; answering questions in short and few words, and, when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that the king had some thought of making an escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at Windsor, and so to pass by Bagshot, the king expressed a desire to see his little park at Bagshot, and so to dine at the lodge there, a place where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the lord Newburgh, who had lately married the lady Aubigney, lived there; and said, "he would send a servant to let that lady know that he would dine with her, that she might provide a dinner for him." Harrison well knew the affection of that lord and lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the king so fixed upon it, that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by not suffering him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his majesty should send a servant; which he did the night before he intended to dine there.

Both lord and lady were of known duty and affection to the king; the lady, after her husband the lord Aubigney had been killed at Edge-hill, having so far incensed the parliament, that she had endured a long imprisonment, under a suspicion or evidence that she had been privy to the design which had been discovered by Mr. Waller, upon which Tomkins and Challoner had been put to death, and had likewise herself been put to death, if she had not made her escape to Oxford. After the war was ended, she had, with the king's approbation, married the lord Newburgh; who had the same affections. They had, from the time of the king's being at Hampton Court, concerted with his majesty upon such means, that, in the strictest restraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And most of the letters which passed between the king and the queen passed through their hands; who had likewise a cipher with the king, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from Hurst castle, and advised him "to find some way that he might dine at the lodge at Bagshot; and that he should take occasion, if he could, to lame the horse he rode upon, or to find such fault with his going, that he might take another horse out of the lord Newburgh's stables to continue the rest of his journey upon." That lord much delighted in horses, and had, at that time, in his stables the most notorious for fleetness that was in England; and the purpose was, to mount the king upon that horse, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might, upon the sudden, set spurs to him; and, if he could get out of the company that encompassed him, he might, possibly, by the swiftness of his horse, and his own skill in the most obscure ways of that forest, convey himself to another place in their view; and so, three or four good horses were laid in several places. And this was the reason that the king had so earnestly insisted upon dining at Bagshot; which being in his way, and his custom being always to dine, they could not reasonably deny him that liberty.

Before the king came thither, Harrison had sent some horse with an officer to search the house, and all about the park, that he might be sure that no company lurked, which might make some attempt. And the king, all the morning, found fault with the going of his horse; and said, "he would change it, and procure a better." When his majesty came to the lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly informed, "that the horse so much depended upon was, the day before, by the blow of another horse, so lamed, that he could not be of use to the purpose he was designed for." And though that lord had other good horses, which in such an exigent might be made use of, yet the king had observed so great difficulty to be in the attempt all his journey, when he was encompassed always in the middle of a hundred horse, the officers all exceedingly well horsed, and every man, officer and soldier, having a pistol ready spanned in one hand, that he resolved not to pursue that design. And Harrison had already told him, "that he had provided a better horse for him:" and it was believed he would never have permitted him to have made use of one of the lord Newburgh's. So that after having spent three or four hours there with very much satisfaction to himself, though he was not suffered to be in any room without the company of six or seven soldiers, who suffered little to be spoken, except it was so loud that they could hear it too, he took a sad farewell of them, appearing to have little hope ever to see them again. The lord Newburgh rode some miles in the forest to wait upon the king, till he was required by Harrison to return. His majesty lodged that night at his castle of Windsor, and was soon after carried to St. James's. In this journey, Harrison observing that the king had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to murder him, and had once let fall some words of "the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassination and murder, which could never be safe to the person who undertook it;" he told him plainly, "that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; that the parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention;" and assured him, "that whatever the parliament resolved to do would be very public, and in a way of justice; to which the world should be witness; and would never endure a thought of secret violence:" which his majesty could not persuade himself to believe; nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the people, under any form whatsoever of a public trial.

It hath been acknowledged since by some officers, and others who were present at the consultations, that from the time of the king's being at Hampton Court, and after the army had mastered both the parliament and the city, and were weary of having the king with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many secret consults what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, "they should never be able to settle their new form of government whilst he lived:" and after he was become a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, they were more solicitous for a resolution and determination in that particular: and after the vote of no more addresses, the most violent party thought "they could do nothing in order to their own ends, till he should be first dead; and therefore, one way or other, that was to be compassed in the first place." Some were for "an actual deposing him; which could not but be easily brought to pass, since the parliament would vote any thing they should be directed:" others were for "the taking away his life by poison; which would make least noise;" or, "if that could not be so easily contrived, by assassination; for which there were hands enough ready to be employed." There was a third sort, as violent as either of the other, who pressed "to have him brought to a public trial as a malefactor; which," they said, "would be most for the honour of the parliament, and would teach all kings to know, that they were accountable and punishable for the wickedness of their lives."

Many of the officers were of the first opinion, "as a thing they had precedents for; and that he being once deposed, they could better settle the government than if he were dead; for his son could pretend no right whilst he was alive; whereas, if the father were dead, he would presently call himself king, and others would call him so too; and, it may be, other kings and princes would own him for such. If he were kept alive in a close prison, he might afterwards be made use of, or removed upon any appearance of a revolution."

There were as many officers of the second judgment, "that he should be presently despatched." They said, "it appeared by the experience they had, that whilst he was alive, (for a more strict imprisonment than he had undergone, he could never be confined to,) there would be always plots and designs to set him at liberty; and he would have parties throughout the kingdom; and, in a short time, a faction in their most secret councils, and it may be in the army itself; and, where his liberty would yield so great a price, it would be too great a trust to repose in any man, that he would long resist the temptation. Whereas, if he were confessedly dead, all those fears would be over; especially if they proceeded with that circumspection and severity towards all his party, as in prudence they ought to do." This party might probably have carried it, if Hammond could have been wrought upon to have concurred; but he had yet too much conscience to expose himself to that infamy; and without his privity or connivance it could not be easily done.

The third party, which were all the levellers and agitators of the army, in the head of which Ireton and Harrison were, would not endure either of the other ways; and said, "they could as easily bring him to justice in the sight of the sun, as depose him; since the authority of the parliament could do one as well as the other: that their precedent of deposing had no reputation with the people; but was looked upon as the effect of some potent faction, which always oppressed the people more after, than they had been before. Besides, those deposings had always been attended with assassinations and murders, which were the more odious and detested, because nobody owned and avowed the bloody actions they had done. But if he were brought to a public trial, for the notorious ill things he had done, and for his misgovernment, upon the complaint and prosecution of the people, the superiority of the people would be hereby vindicated and made manifest; and they should receive the benefit, and be forever free from those oppressions which he had imposed upon them, and for which he ought to pay so dear; and such an exemplary proceeding and execution as this, where every circumstance should be clear and notorious, would be the best foundation and security of the government they intended to establish; and no man would be ambitious to succeed him, and be a king in his place, when he saw in what manner he must be accountable to the people." This argumentation, or the strength and obstinacy of that party, carried it: and, hereupon, all that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was exercised, was resolved upon and consented to.

Whether the incredibility or monstrousness of such a kind of proceeding wrought upon the minds of men, or whether the principal actors took pains, by their insinuations, to have it so believed, it is very strange that they who wished the king best, and stood nearest to the stage where these parts were acted, did not believe that there were those horrid intentions that shortly after appeared. The preachers, who had sounded the trumpets loudest to, and throughout the war, preached now as furiously against all wicked attempts and violence against the person of the king, and foolishly urged the obligation of the covenant (by which they had involved him in all the danger he was in) for the security of his person.

As soon as the prince heard of the king's being carried by Harrison to Windsor, and from thence to St. James's, though he had lately sent a servant on purpose to see his majesty, and to bring him an account of the state he was in, which servant was not permitted to see him, he sent now another with a letter to Fairfax and the council of war, (for he knew the parliament had no authority,) in which he told them, "that he had no other means to be informed of the health and condition of the king his royal father, but by the common prints, and general intelligences that arrived in those parts: he had reason by those to believe, that, after the expiration of the treaty in the Isle of Wight, (where he hoped the foundation for a happy peace had been laid,) his majesty had been carried to Hurst castle; and since, by some officers of the army, to Windsor, not without purpose of a more violent prosecution; the rumour whereof, though of so monstrous and incredible a nature, had called upon his piety to make this address to them; who had at this time the power to choose, whether they would raise lasting monuments to themselves of loyalty and piety, by restoring their sovereign to his just rights, and their country to peace and happiness, a glory which had been seldom absolutely vouchsafed to so small a number of men, or to make themselves the authors of endless misery to the kingdom, by contributing or consenting to an act which all Christians, into how different opinions soever divided, must abhor as the most inconsistent with the elements of any religion, and destructive to the security and being of any kind of government: he did therefore earnestly desire and conjure them, sadly to consider the vast and prodigious disproportion in that election; and then," he said, "he could not doubt but that they would choose to do that which is most just, safe, and honourable for them to do; make themselves the blest instruments to preserve, defend, and restore their king; to whom only their allegiance was due; by which every one of them might justly promise themselves peace of conscience, the singular good will and favour of his majesty, the ample thanks and acknowledgment of all good men, and the particular and unalterable affection of the prince himself." This letter was, with much ado, delivered into the hands of Fairfax himself; but the messenger could never be admitted to speak with him; nor was there more known, than that it was read in the council of war, and laid aside.

From the time of the king's being come to St. James's, when he was delivered into the hands and custody of colonel Tomlinson,[1] a colonel of foot, though the officer seemed to be a man of a better breeding, and of a nature more civil than Harrison, and pretended to pay much respect and duty to the king in his outward demeanour, yet his majesty was treated with more rudeness and barbarity than he had ever been before. No man was suffered to see or speak to him, but the soldiers who were his guard, some of whom sat up always in his bedchamber, and drank, and took tobacco, as if they had been upon the court of guard; nor was he suffered to go into any other room, either to say his prayers, or to receive the ordinary benefits of nature, but was obliged to do both in their presence and before them: and yet they were so jealous of these their janizaries, that they might be wrought upon by the influence of this innocent prince, or by the remorse of their own conscience upon the exercise of so much barbarity, that they caused the guards to be still changed; and the same men were never suffered twice to perform the same monstrous duty.

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[1] Herbert, of the king's bedchamber, tells us, that this Tomlinson intercepted and stole a gold watch which the king had ordered to be conveyed to him through the hands of Tomlinson.—W.

When he was first brought to Westminster-hall, which was upon the twentieth of January, before their high court of justice, he looked upon them, and sat down, without any manifestation of trouble, never stirring his hat; all the impudent judges sitting covered, and fixing their eyes upon him, without the least show of respect. The odious libel, which they called a charge and impeachment, was then read by the clerk; which contained, "that he had been admitted king of England, and trusted with a limited power to govern according to law; and, by his oath and office, was obliged to use the power committed to him for the good and benefit of the people: but that he had, out of a wicked design to erect to himself an illimited and tyrannical power, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people, traitorously levied war against the present parliament, and the people therein represented." And then it mentioned his first appearance at York with a guard, then his being at Beverly, then his setting up his standard at Nottingham, the day of the month and the year in which the battle had been at Edge-hill, and all the other several battles which had been fought in his presence; "in which," it said, "he had caused and procured many thousands of the freeborn people of the nation to be slain: that after all his forces had been defeated, and himself become a prisoner, he had, in that very year, caused many insurrections to be made in England, and given a commission to the prince his son to raise a new war against the parliament; whereby many who were in their service, and trusted by them, had revolted, broken their trust, and betook themselves to the service of the prince against the parliament and the people: that he had been the author and contriver of the unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars; and was therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, and spoils, desolations, damage, and mischief to the nation, which had been committed in the said war, or been occasioned thereby; and that he was therefore impeached for the said treasons and crimes, on the behalf of the people of England, as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer, and a public implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England." And it was prayed, that he might be put to answer to all the particulars, to the end that such an examination, trial, and judgment, might be had thereupon, as should be agreeable to justice."

Which being read, their president Bradshaw, after he had insolently reprehended the king "for not having stirred his hat, or shewed more respect to that high tribunal," told him, "that the parliament of England had appointed that court to try him for the several treasons, and misdemeanours, which he had committed against the kingdom during the evil administration of his government; and that, upon the examination thereof, justice might be done." And, after a great sauciness and impudence of talk, he asked the king, "what answer he had to make to that impeachment."

The king, without any alteration in his countenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, "he would first know of them, by what authority they presumed by force to bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge of his actions, for which he was accountable to none but God; though they had been always such as he need not be ashamed to own them before all the world."[1] He told them, "that he was their king, they his subjects; who owed him duty and obedience: that no parliament had authority to call him before them; but that they were not the parliament, nor had any authority from the parliament to sit in that manner: that of all the persons who sat there, and took upon them to judge him, except those persons who being officers of the army he could not but know whilst he was forced to be amongst them, there were only two faces which he had ever seen before, or whose names were known to him." And, after urging "their duty, that was due to him, and his superiority over them," by such lively reasons, and arguments, as were not capable of any answer, he concluded, "that he would not so much betray himself, and his royal dignity, as to answer any thing they objected against him, which were to acknowledge their authority; though he believed that every one of themselves, as well as the spectators, did, in their own consciences, absolve him from all the material things which were objected against him."

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[1] How could he say this now, when he had owned otherwise in the course of the misunderstanding with the parliament in his papers to them before the war began?—W.

Bradshaw advised him, in a very arrogant manner, "not to deceive himself with an opinion that any thing he had said would do him any good: that the parliament knew their own authority, and would not suffer it to be called in question or debated:" therefore wished him, "to think better of it, against he should be next brought hither, and that he would answer directly to his charge; otherwise, he could not be so ignorant, as not to know what judgment the law pronounced against those who stood mute, and obstinately refused to plead." So the guard carried his majesty back to St. James's; where they treated him as before.

There was an accident happened that first day, which may be fit to be remembered. When all those who were commissioners had taken their places, and the king was brought in, the first ceremony was, to read their commission; which was the ordinance of parliament for the trial; and then the judges were all called, every man answering to his name as he was called, and the president being first called and making answer, the next who was called being the general, lord Fairfax, and no answer being made, the officer called him the second time, when there was a voice heard that said, "he had more wit than to be there;" which put the court into some disorder, and somebody asking, who it was, there was no other answer but a little murmuring. But, presently, when the impeachment was read, and that expression used, of "all the good people of England," the same voice in a louder tone answered, "No, nor the hundredth part of them:" upon which, one of the officers bid the soldiers give fire into that box whence those presumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly discerned that it was the general's wife, the lady Fairfax, who had uttered both those sharp sayings;[1] who was presently persuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new disorder. She was of a very noble extraction, one of the daughters and heirs of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury; who, having been bred in Holland, had not that reverence for the church of England, as she ought to have had, and so had unhappily concurred in her husband's entering into rebellion, never imagining what misery it would bring upon the kingdom ; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any body could do, and did all she could to hinder her husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever sit in that bloody court, though out of the stupidity of his soul he was throughout overwitted by Cromwell, and made a property to bring that to pass which could very hardly have been otherwise effected.

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[1] This was a very spirited woman, as appears from Fairfax's Memoirs. She shared the dangers of the war with him, both in his defeats and successes, while the scene was in Yorkshire.---W.

As there was in many persons present at that woful spectacle a real duty and compassion for the king, so there was in others so barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, that they called him tyrant and murderer; and one spit in his face; which his majesty, without expressing any trouble, wiped off with his handkerchief.

The two men who were only known to the king before the troubles, were sir Harry Mildmay, master of the king's jewel-house, who had been bred up in the court, being younger brother of a good family in Essex, and who had been prosecuted with so great favours and bounties by king James, and by his majesty, that he was raised by them to a great estate, and preferred to that office in his house, which is the best under those which entitle the officers to be of the privy council. No man more obsequious to the court than he, whilst it flourished; a great flatterer of all persons in authority, and a spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the parliament, he concurred with those who were most violent against the court, and most like to prevail against it; and being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes men most impudent, he continued his desperate pace with them, till he became one of the murderers of his master. The other was sir John Danvers, the younger brother and heir of the earl of Danby, who was a gentleman of the privy chamber to the king, and being neglected by his brother, and having, by a vain expense in his way of living, contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud, formal, weak man,[1] between being seduced and a seducer,[2] became so far involved in their counsels, that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that party of miscreants look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation, as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay.

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[1] Pride in a weak man always shews itself in formality, and gratifies its humour in that ridiculous show.---W.

[2] Just as a bubbled gamester turns a setter.---W.

The several unheard of insolences which this excellent prince was forced to submit to, at the other times he was brought before that odious judicatory, his majestic behaviour under so much insolence, and resolute insisting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifest authorities in the law, as well as by the clearest deductions from reason, the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent person in the world, the execution of that sentence by the most execrable murder that was ever committed since that of our blessed Saviour,[1] and the circumstances thereof; the application and interposition that was used by some noble persons to prevent that woful murder, and the hypocrisy with which that interposition was eluded, the saint-like behaviour of that blessed martyr, and his Christian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars so well known, and have been so much enlarged upon in a treatise peculiarly writ to that purpose, that the further mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the reader, and make the relation itself odious as well as needless; and therefore no more shall be said here of that lamentable tragedy, so much to the dishonour of the nation, and the religion professed by it.

But it will not be unnecessary to add a short character of his person, that posterity may know the inestimable loss which the nation then underwent, in being deprived of a prince, whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners and piety of the nation, than the most strict laws can have.[2] To speak first of his private qualifications as a man, before the mention of his princely and royal virtues; he was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an honest man; so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hardhearted thing: and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to malefactors, that the judges of the land represented to him the damage and insecurity to the public, that flowed from such his indulgence. And then he restrained himself from pardoning either murders or highway robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severity by a wonderful reformation of those enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his devotions; he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at public prayers; so that on hunting days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private cabinet devotions; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered: and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean. That kind of wit had never any countenance then. He was so great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular did not brag of their liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices, in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence, and near relation to his service.

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[1] Nothing can excuse this indecent reference in a pious man like the noble historian.—W.

[2] Religion might have a loss in being deprived of the example of his private virtues, but sure civil government could have none in that of his public administration.—W.

His kingly virtues had some mixture and allay, that hindered them from shining in full lustre, and from producing those fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appeared more after the duke of Buckingham's death, after which those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those, to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his court very orderly;[1] no man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw and observed men long, before he received them about his person; and did not love strangers; nor very confident men. He was a patient hearer of causes; which he frequently accustomed himself to at the council board; and judged very well, and was dexterous in the mediating part: so that he often put an end to causes by persuasion, which the stubbornness of men's humours made dilatory in courts of justice.

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[1] Lady Leicester says to her husband, 1636. "I have been at court.

He was very fearless in his person; but, not very enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him oftentimes change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature, he would have found more respect and duty. And his not applying some severe cures to approaching evils proceeded from the lenity of his nature, and the tenderness of his conscience, which, in all cases of blood, made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing his advantage in the first Scottish expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduced that nation to the most slavish obedience that could have been wished. But no man can say he had then many who advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his council had to fighting, or any other fatigue. He was always an immoderate lover of the Scottish nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that people, and besieged by them always, having few English about him till he was king; and

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In his majesty (Charles I.) I found an inclination to show me some kindness, but he could not find the way: at last he told me, that he perceived I was very kind to my husband, when he was with me, which kept me very lean, for he thought me much fatter than I used to be. This short speech was worse to me than an absolute silence; for I blushed, and was so extremely out of countenance, that all the company laughed at me." Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 472. And young lord Sunderland in the camp, 1642, to his wife. "I never saw the king look better; he is very cheerful, and by the bawdy discourse, I thought I had been in the drawing room." Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 668.—W.

the major number of his servants being still of that nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among these, no man had such an ascendant over him, by the humblest insinuations, as duke Hamilton had.

As he excelled in all other virtues, so in temperance he was so strict, that he abhorred all debauchery to that degree, that, at a great festival solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the nobility of the English and Scots were entertained, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vast draughts of wine they drank, and "that there was one earl, who had drank most of the rest down, and was not himself moved or altered," the king said, "that he deserved to be hanged;" and that earl coming shortly after into the room where his majesty was, in some gayety, to shew how unhurt he was from that battle, the king sent one to bid him withdraw from his majesty's presence; nor did he in some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth and that the stars designed it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants, that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not from any treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men. And, afterwards, the terror all men were under of the parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became spies upon their master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another; till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the destruction of their master. And after all this, when a man might reasonably believe that less than a universal defection of three nations could not have reduced a great king to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general,[1] was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predecessors had ever been. To conclude, he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian[1], that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the best king, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.

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[1] It is true, that he had this share when he was murdered. But it

This unparalleled murder and parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of January, in the year, according to the account used in England, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great vigour of body, that when his murderers caused him to be opened, (which they did, and were some of them present at it with great curiosity,) they confessed and declared, "that no man had ever all his vital parts so perfect and unhurt: and that he seemed to be of so admirable a composition and constitution, that he would probably have lived as long as nature[2] could subsist." His body was immediately carried into a room at Whitehall; where he was exposed for many days to the public view, that all men might know that he was not alive. And he was then embalmed, and put into a coffin,

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was the having no share at all (by his long misgovernment) when the trouble began, which enabled his murderers to do their business. It was his long misgovernment that estranged the hearts of the people from him; and it was the severity of his sufferings that brought them back to him: which is always the treatment of the people both to private and public characters.—W.

[1] The historian very judiciously omits, "and the best monarch or governor." What he adds, that no prince was ever unhappy who had half his virtues, is, I believe, very true. For it would be hard to find any prince besides him who aimed at arbitrary power with an intention to make his people happy, which he certainly had, as far as his superstition permitted that intention to operate. Whereas most other princes aim at arbitrary power merely to gratify some impotent passion. But a prince with Charles's virtues had no such passions to gratify.—W.

[2] i. e. human nature.---W.

and so carried to St. James's; where he likewise remained several days. They who were qualified to look after that province declared, "that he should be buried at Windsor in a decent manner, provided that the whole expense should not exceed five hundred pounds." The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, who had been of his bedchamber, and always very faithful to him, desired those who governed, "that they might have leave to perform the last duty to their dead master, and to wait upon him to his grave;" which, after some pauses, they were permitted to do, with this, "that they should not attend the corpse out of the town; since they resolved it should be privately carried to Windsor without pomp or noise, and then they should have timely notice, that, if they pleased, they might be at his interment." And accordingly it was committed to four of those servants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his imprisonment, that they should convey the body to Windsor; which they did. And it was, that night, placed in that chamber which had usually been his bedchamber: the next morning, it was carried into the great hall; where it remained till the lords came; who arrived there in the afternoon, and immediately went to colonel Whitchcot, the governor of the castle, and shewed the order they had from the parliament to be present at the burial; which he admitted: but when they desired that his majesty might be buried according to the form of the Common Prayer Book, the bishop of London being present with them to officiate, he expressly, positively, and roughly refused to consent to it; and said, "it was not lawful; that the Common Prayer Book was put down, and he would not suffer it to be used in that garrison where he commanded;" nor could all the reasons, persuasions, and entreaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the church, to make choice of a place for burial. But when they entered into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so altered and transformed, all tombs, inscriptions, and those land-marks pulled down, by which all men knew every particular place in that church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one old officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our princes had used to be interred. At last there was a fellow of the town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, "there was a vault, in which king Harry the Eighth and queen Jane Seymour were interred." As near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the grave to be made. There the king's body was laid without any words, or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon the coffin was a plate of silver fixed with these words only, *King Charles* 1648. When the coffin was put in, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and then the earth thrown in; which the governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church, which was seldom put to any use.

I have been the longer and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occasion to mention what fell out long after, and which administered a subject of much discourse; in which, according to the several humours and fancies of men, they who were in nearest credit and trust about the king underwent many very severe censures and reproaches, not without reflection upon the king himself. Upon the return of king Charles the Second with so much congratulation, and universal joy of the people, above ten years after the murder of his father, it was generally expected that the body should be removed from that obscure burial, and, with such ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his royal ancestors in king Harry the Seventh's chapel in the collegiate church of Westminster. And the king himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as if it were only deferred till some circumstances and ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted. But, by degrees, the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of state, the ground whereof several men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those reproaches upon the statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggested by their own imaginations did not satisfy their understanding. For the satisfaction and information of all men, I choose in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The duke of Richmond was dead before the king returned; the marquis of Hertford died in a short time after, and was seldom out of his lodging after his majesty came to Whitehall: the earl of Southampton and the earl of Lindsey went to Windsor, and took with them such of their own servants as had attended them in that service, and as many others as they remembered had been then present, and were still alive; who all amounted to a small number; there being, at the time of the interment, great strictness used in admitting any to be present whose names were not included in the order which the lords had brought. In a word, the confusion they had at that time observed to be in that church,[1] all things pulled down which distinguished between the body of the church and choir, and the small alterations which were begun to be made towards decency, so totally perplexed their memories, that they could not satisfy themselves in what place or part of the church the royal body was interred: yet, where any concurred upon this or that place, they caused the ground to be opened at a good distance, and, upon such inquiries, found no cause to believe that they were near the place: and, upon their giving this account to the king, the thought of that remove was laid aside; and the reason communicated to very few, for the better discountenancing further inquiry.

Though this wicked and abominable action had to a degree satisfied their malice, it had not enough provided for their ambition or security. They had no sooner freed themselves from one, than another king was grown up in his place. And besides the old royal party, which continued still vigorous, notwithstanding their loss of so much blood, and (which weakens almost as much) of so great estates, they did apprehend that there were in the vast number of the guilty (who quietly looked on upon the removal of the old, whom they had so grievously offended) who would yet be very willing to submit, and be obedient to the new king; who was like to find more friends abroad, as well as at home, than his father had done. And therefore they made haste to prevent this threatening evil, by publishing a proclamation, "that no person whatsoever should presume to declare Charles Stuart, son of the late Charles, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other person, to be king, or chief magistrate of England, or Ireland, or of any dominions belonging thereunto, by colour of inheritance, succession, election, or any other claim whatsoever; and that whoever, contrary to this act, presume to proclaim, &c. should be deemed and adjudged a traitor, and suffer accordingly."

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[1] The difficulty or impossibility of finding the place, if the body were there, is an idle story. The king, who had received a large sum from his parliament for the solemnity of a public re-interment, contented himself with a very superficial search, and pocketed the money.---W.

In the next place, that their infant republic might be nursed, cherished, and brought up by those only who had begotten and brought it forth, they resolved to take away and abolish the house of peers, and voted, "that they would make no further addresses to the house of lords, nor receive any more from them: that the house of peers, in parliament, was useless and dangerous; and that an act should be brought in for abolishing it: that the privilege of the peers, of being freed from arrests, should be declared null and void;" all which was done within few days. However, they declared, "that the peers should have the privilege to be elected knights, or burgesses;"[1] of which gracious concession some of them took the benefit soon after, and sat, upon their election into vacant places, in the house of commons.

There remained yet another provision to be made against their own ambition; for it was well known, that there were yet amongst them many who were not equally fond of a commonwealth; and therefore they declared, "that it had been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, or to have the power thereof in any single person, was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, and safety, and public interest of the nation; and therefore that it should be utterly abolished; and to that purpose an act should be forthwith prepared:" which was likewise done, and passed. And by this triple cord they believed their republic would be strongly compacted, and sufficiently provided for.

[1] Many more would have sat, and with reason, had they thought the new government stable.—W.

Their new great seal was by this time ready; whereon was engraven, on one side, the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, *The great seal of England;* and on the other side the portraiture of the house of commons sitting, circumscribed, *In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored*, 1648. The custody of this great seal was committed to three lawyers, whereof one had sat among the king's judges, and the others had contributed too much to their service. All things being now in this good order, they sent for their judges, to agree upon the formality and circumstances of proceedings. For it was declared by the parliament, "that they were fully resolved to maintain and uphold the fundamental laws of the nation, in order to the preservation of the lives, property, and liberty of the people, notwithstanding all the alterations made in the government for the good of the people:" and the writs were no more to run in the king's name, as they had always done, but the name, style, and test, to be *Custodes libertatis Angliæ authoritate parliamenti.* If it were not a thing so notoriously known, it could not be believed, that of twelve judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly submitted, from the beginning of the war, to the authority that governed, six laid down their places, and could not give themselves leave to accept commissions from the new established power. So aguish and fantastical a thing is the conscience of men who have once departed from the rule of conscience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a less pressing occasion.

It will require, at least it may not be unfit, to rest and make a pause in this place, to take a view, and behold with what countenance the kings and princes of Christendom had their eyes fixed upon this woful bloody spectacle; how they looked upon that issue of blood, at which their own seemed to be so prodigally poured out; with what consternation their hearts laboured to see the impious hands of the lowest and basest subjects bathing in the bowels and reeking blood of their sovereign; a brother king, the anointed of the Lord, dismembered as a malefactor; what combination and union was entered into, to take vengeance upon those monsters, and to vindicate the royal blood thus wickedly spilt. Alas! there was not a murmur amongst any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the language of the prophet Isaiah, *Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a nation meted out, and trodden down, whose lands the rivers have spoiled*, they made haste, and sent over, that they might get shares in the spoils of a murdered monarch.

Cardinal Mazarine, who, in the infancy of the French king, managed that sceptre, had long adored the conduct of Cromwell, and sought his friendship by a lower and viler application than was suitable to the purple of a cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a merchant to traffic in the purchase of the rich goods and jewels of the rifled crown, of which he purchased the rich beds, hangings, and carpets, which furnished his palace at Paris. The king of Spain had, from the beginning of the rebellion, kept don Alonzo de Cardinas, who had been his ambassador to the king, residing still at London; and he had, upon several occasions, many audiences from the parliament, and several treaties on foot; and as soon as this dismal murder was over, that ambassador, who had always a great malignity towards the king, bought as many pictures, and other precious goods appertaining to the crown, as, being sent in ships to the Corunna in Spain, were carried from thence to Madrid upon eighteen mules. Christina, queen of Sweden, purchased the choice of all the medals, and jewels, and some pictures of a great price, and received Cromwell's ambassador with great joy and pomp, and made an alliance with them. The archduke Leopold, who was governor of Flanders, disbursed a great sum of money for many of the best pictures, which adorned the several palaces of the king; which were all brought to him to Brussels, and from thence carried by him into Germany. In this manner did the neighbour princes join to assist Cromwell with very great sums of money,[1] whereby he was enabled to prosecute and finish his wicked victory over what yet remained unconquered, and to extinguish monarchy in this renowned kingdom; whilst they enriched and adorned themselves with the ruins and spoils of the surviving heir, without applying any part thereof to his relief, in the greatest necessities which ever king was subject to. And that which is stranger than all this, and more wonderful, (since most men, by recovering their fortunes, use to recover most of what they were before robbed of, many who joined in the robbery pretending that they took care to preserve it for the true owner,) not one of all these princes ever restored any of their unlawful purchases to the king, after his blessed restoration.

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[1] It is something singular, that neither on this or any other occasion the historian should ever mention the king's virtuoso character, that was so very eminent. He had not taste for it himself, and thinking it beneath a great king, he buries the knowledge of it in silence.—W.

Whilst these perfidious wretches had their hands still reeking in the precious blood of their sovereign, they were put upon a new piece of butchery, as necessary to the establishment of their new tyranny. The king was no sooner dead, but they declared, as hath been said, "that from this time England should be governed as a commonwealth by the parliament;" that is, by that handful of men, who by their wisdom and power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And because the number of those appeared very small, and the number of those they had excluded was as visible, they made an order and declaration, "that as many of the members who had been excluded, as would under their hands approve all that had been done during the time they were excluded, should return to their seats in the house without any prejudice for the future." Hereupon very many went again into the house, satisfying themselves that they were not guilty of the innocent royal blood that had been spilt; and so their number increased. They had made a new great seal, as hath been said, and called the commissioners, who were intrusted with the keeping thereof, *the keepers of the liberties of England.* And the court of king's bench they called the *upper bench*, and appointed certain persons to consider of such alterations as were necessary to be made in the laws of England, in regard of so important a mutation. That they might have some obligation of obedience from their subjects for the future, who had broken all the former oaths which they had taken, a new oath was prepared and established, which they called an *engagement;* the substance whereof was, that every man should swear, "that he would be true and faithful to the government established without king or house of peers, and that he would never consent to the readmitting either of them again," or words to that effect: and whosoever refused to take that engagement should be incapable of holding any place or office in church or state. The necessity of taking which oath did not only exclude all of the royal party, but freed them from very many who had offices in church and state, who, being of the presbyterian party, durst not sacrifice their beloved covenant to this new engagement. And so they filled many considerable places, both in the one and the other, with men thoroughly prepared for their service. But before they could model and finish all this, and whilst it was preparing, they had, in several parts of the kingdom, terrified the people with bloody spectacles, in the executing many of the persons who had been taken. And, that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their subjects, the peers of England, that they should hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental laws of the land were, a new high court of justice was appointed to sit for the trial of duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the earl of Norwich, the lord Capel, and another gentleman, one sir John Owen, (who, having been heretofore a colonel in the king's army, had in a late insurrection in Wales killed the high sheriff,) that they might see there should hereafter be no more distinction of quality in trials for life, but that the greatest lord and the meanest peasant should undergo the same judicatory, and form of trial. Nor could it be thought unreasonable, that all the creations of the crown should be determined by that jurisdiction to which the crown itself had been subjected.

Duke Hamilton could not well be thought other than a prisoner of war, and so not liable to a trial for his life. But his own conscience had given him a shrewd presage, when it tempted him to make an escape, which he had so luckily performed, that he was out of his enemies' hands full three days; but, being impatient to be at a greater distance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking horse in Southwark; and carried prisoner into the Tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that high court of justice. He insisted upon "the right and privilege of the kingdom of Scotland; that it had not the least dependence upon the kingdom of England, but was entirely governed by its own laws: that he, being a subject of that kingdom, was bound to obey the commands thereof; and the parliament of that kingdom having thought it necessary to raise an army for the relief of their king, and constituted him general of that army, it was not lawful for him to refuse the command thereof; and whatever misfortune he had undergone with it, he could not be understood to be liable to any punishment but what a prisoner of war was bound to undergo." He was told, "that the rights and laws of the kingdom of Scotland were not called in question, nor could be violated by their proceedings against him, who was a subject of England; against which he was charged with rebellion and treason: that they did not proceed against him as duke Hamilton of Scotland, but as earl of Cambridge in England, and they would judge him as such." The earl of Holland was not at that time in a good disposition of health, and so answered little, as a man that would rather receive his life by their favour, than from the strength of his defence. The earl of Norwich behaved himself with great submission to the court, and with all those addresses as were most like to reconcile his judges to him, and to prevail over their affections: spoke of "his being bred up in the court from his cradle, in the time of queen Elizabeth; of his having been a servant to king James all his reign; of his dependence upon prince Harry; afterwards upon the late king; of the obligations he had to the crown, and of his endeavours to serve it;" and concluded as a man that would be beholding to them, if they would give him leave to live.

The lord Capel appeared undaunted, and utterly refused to submit to their jurisdiction; "that in the condition and capacity of a soldier and a prisoner of war, he said, the lawyers and gownmen had nothing to do with him, and therefore he would not answer to any thing which they had said against him;" (Prideaux having treated him with great rudeness and insolence;) but insisted upon "the law of nations, which exempted all prisoners, though submitting to mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within so many days: which were long since expired." He urged "the declaration which

Fairfax the general had made to him,[1] and the rest of the prisoners, after the death of sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle; that no other of their lives should be in danger, which he had witnesses ready to prove, if they might be admitted;" and concluded, "that, if he had committed any offence worthy of death, he might be tried by his peers: which was his right by the laws of the land; the benefit whereof he required." Ireton, who was present, and sat as one of his judges, denied "that the general had made any such promise, and if he had, that the parliament's authority could not be restrained thereby;" and put him in mind of his carriage at that time, and how much he neglected then the general's civility. The other insisted still on the promise; and urged "that the general might be sent for and examined;" which they knew not how to deny; but, in regard of his indisposition of health, they said they could not expect he should come in person, but they would send to him for his testimony in writing, whilst they proceeded against sir John Owen, who was the other prisoner.

He answered them without any application, "that he was a plain gentleman of Wales, who had been always taught to obey the king; that he had served him honestly during the war, and finding afterwards that many honest men endeavoured to raise forces, whereby they might get him out of prison, he did the like; and the high sheriff endeavoured to oppose him, and so chanced to be killed; which he might have avoided, if he had stayed at home:" and concluded like a man that did not much care what they resolved concerning him.

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[1] Whitlock, speaking of this affair, says, *The general, and Ireton, and Whaley, and Berkstead,* delivering in their testimony, it appeared, *That lord Capel was to have fair quarter for his life, which was explained to be freedom from any execution of the sword, but not any protection from the judicial proceedings of a civil court. But of this learning I hope none of this nation will have use hereafter.* Mem. p. 381. Now admit the prisoners at Colchester to be *rebels,* and this *learning* may be fairly brought in use. The military has no authority to consider bodies of men in arms against them, in any other light than as *enemies simply,* which when broken and overcome, the conquerors acquire the right of life and death over them. And quarter remits that right, so that their life cannot be taken by a *court martial.* The civil laws have still their right unimpeached, if these *enemies* are found to be *rebels,* which may call them to account after quarter given by the *military.* Whether these lords were *rebels,* in the sense of the laws of the state, was a question worthy of discussion. That *Lisle,* and *Lucas,* who suffered by a *court martial* after quarter given, were *murdered* against all law and justice, is certain.—W.

Whether the question was well stated to Fairfax, or what was else said to him to dissuade him from owning his declaration and promise, he boggled so much in his answer, that they would be of opinion, "that he had not made such direct and positive promise; and that the same was never transmitted to the parliament; which it ought to have been; and that, at most, it could but exempt those prisoners from being tried before a court, or council of war, and could not be understood as an obligation upon the parliament, not to give direction to such a legal proceeding against them, as they should find necessary for the peace and safety of the kingdom." The president Bradshaw told the lord Capel, with many insolent expressions, "that he was tried before such judges as the parliament thought fit to assign him; and who had judged a better man than himself." So the sentence of death was pronounced against all five of them, "that they should lose their heads;" upon which sir John Owen made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks; and being asked by a stander by, "what he meant?" he said aloud, "it was a very great honour to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords;" and swore a great oath, "that he was afraid they would have hanged him."

The prisoners were all carried to St. James's; where they were to remain till their execution two days after; which time their friends and relations had to endeavour to preserve their lives by the power and authority of the parliament; where there were so many sitting who had not sat in judgment upon them, and who were of several affections, and liable to several temptations, that there might be a reasonable hope to rescue them from the cruel and unjust judgment. Their wives, and children, and friends, left no way untried to prevail; offered and gave money to some who were willing to receive it, and made promises accordingly. But they who had the greatest credit, and most power to terrify others who should displease them, were inexorable; yet dealt so much more honestly than the rest, that they declared to the ladies, who solicited for their husbands and their fathers, "that they would not endeavour to do them service." Ireton, above all men, continued his insolent and dogged humour, (sævus ille vultus et robur a quo se contra pudorem muniebat) and told them, "if he had credit, they should all die." Others, who gave better words, had no better meaning than he.

All their petitions were read in order, being penned in such styles as the friends, who solicited for them, were advised. Duke Hamilton's petition being read, many, upon the motives of justice, and as they imagined his death might be the occasion of new troubles between the two nations, since Scotland could not but resent it, would have been willing he should live. But he had fewer friends to his person than any of the rest; and Cromwell knew well that his being out of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whom the peace of that kingdom depended: so that when his petition was read, it was rejected by very much the major part of voices. The consideration of the earl of Holland took up a long debate: the interest and interposition of the earl of Warwick, his brother, was applied; and every presbyterian, to a man, was solicitous to preserve him. They urged "his merit towards the parliament in the beginning of the troubles; how much he had suffered in the court for his affection to them: his age and infirmities, which would not suffer him long to enjoy that life they should give him: and the consideration of his wife, and children, which were numerous." But these arguments stirred up others to inveigh against his backslidings with the more bitterness, and to undervalue the services he had ever done; to tax his vanities, and his breach of faith. So that when the question was put concerning him, they who were for the negative exceeded the number of the other by three or four votes; Cromwell having more than an ordinary animosity against him, for his behaviour in the beginning of the summer, and for some words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himself. The earl of Norwich came next upon the stage; who, having always lived a cheerful and jovial life, without contracting many enemies, had many there who wished him well, and few who had animosity against him: so that when the question was put concerning him, the house was equally divided, the votes which rejected his petition, and those which would preserve his life, were equal: so that his life or death depended upon the single vote of the speaker; who told the house, "that he had received many obligations from that lord; and that once when he had been like to have incurred the king's displeasure, by some misinformation, which would have been very penal to him, the lord Goring" (under which style he was treated, the additional of Norwich not being allowed by them upon their old rule) "had by his credit preserved him, and removed the prejudice that was against him; and therefore he was obliged in gratitude to give his vote for the saving him." By this good fortune he came to be preserved; whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether the speaker made it only as an excuse for saving any man's life who was put to ask it in that place.

The lord Capel, shortly after he was brought prisoner to the Tower from Windsor castle, had by a wonderful adventure, having a cord and all things necessary conveyed to him, let himself down out of the window of his chamber in the night, over the wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might be best able to wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no safer place, he found the water and the mud so deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other men, he must have perished, since the water came up to his chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much mud so intolerable, that his spirits were near spent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the prison, than to be found in such a place, from whence he could not extricate himself, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleased God, that he got at last to the other side; where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the Temple; where he remained two or three nights secure from any discovery, notwithstanding the diligence that could not but be used to recover a man they designed to use no better. After two or three days, a friend whom he trusted much, and who deserved to be trusted, conceiving that he might be more secure in a place to which there was less resort, and where there were so many harboured who were every day sought after, had provided a lodging for him in a private house in Lambeth Marsh; and calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they chose rather to take any boat they found ready at the Temple stairs, than to trust one of that people with the secret; and it was so late that there was one only boat left there. In that the lord Capel (as well disguised as he thought necessary) and his friend put themselves, and bid the waterman to row them to Lambeth. Whether, in their passage thither, the other gentleman called him *my lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the waterman had any jealousy by observing what he thought was a disguise, when they were landed, the wicked waterman, undiscerned, followed them, till he saw into what house they went; and then went to an officer, and demanded, "what he would give him to bring him to the place where the lord Capel lay?" And the officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the house, where that excellent person was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

When the petition, that his wife had delivered, was read, many gentlemen spoke on his behalf; and mentioned the great virtues which were in him; and "that he had never deceived them, or pretended to be of their party; but always resolutely declared himself for the king:" and Cromwell, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, "that his affection to the public so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the question was now, whether they would preserve the most bitter and the most implacable enemy they had: that he knew the lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest; that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition." Ireton's hatred was immortal; he spake of him and against him, as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many were swayed by the argument that had been urged against duke Hamilton, "that God was not pleased that he should escape, because he had put him into their hands again, when he was at liberty." And so, after a long debate, though there was not a man who had not a value for him, and very few who had a particular malice or prejudice towards him, the question being put, the negative was more by three or four voices: so that of the four lords, three were without the mercy of that unmerciful people. There being no other petition presented, Ireton told them, "there had been great endeavours and solicitation used to save all those lords; but that there was a commoner, another condemned person, for whom no one man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so much as petitioned them; and therefore he desired, that sir John Owen might be preserved by the mere motive and goodness of the house itself;" which found little opposition; whether they were satiated with blood, or that they were willing, by this instance, that the nobility should see that a commoner should be preferred before them.

A scaffold was erected before Westminster-hall, and all the prisoners condemned were brought from St. James's, (as well the two who were reprieved, as the three who were to suffer,) upon the ninth of March, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a month after the murder of the king, to sir Thomas Cotton's house, at the upper end of Westminster-hall; where they were suffered to repose themselves about the space of an hour, and then were led successively through the hall to the scaffold, duke Hamilton being first; who seemed yet to have some hope of a reprieve, and made some stay in the hall, till the earl of Denbigh came to him; and, after a short whisper, in which he found there was no hope, he ascended the scaffold. He complained much of "the injustice that was done him; and that he was put to death for obeying the laws of his country; which if he had not done, he must have been put to death there." He acknowledged the obligations he had to the king, and seemed not sorry for the gratitude he had expressed, how dear soever it cost him. His natural darkness, and reservation in his discourse, made him to be thought a wise man, and his having been in command under the king of Sweden, and his continual discourses of battles, and fortifications, made him be thought a soldier. And both these mistakes were the cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and a more dangerous man, than in truth he deserved to be.

The earl of Holland was brought next, who, by his long sickness, was so spent, that his spirits served not to entertain the people with long discourse. He spoke of "his religion, as a matter unquestionable, by the education he had had in the religious family of which he was a branch:" which was thought a strange discourse for a dying man, who, though a son, knew enough of the iniquity of his father's house, which should rather have been buried in silence, than, by such an unseasonable testimony, have been revived in the memory and discourse of men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to parliaments, than a good servant to his master, and was thought to say too little of his having failed so much in his duty to him, which most good men believed to be the source from whence his present calamity sprung. He was a very well bred man, and a fine gentleman in good times; but too much desired to enjoy ease and plenty, when the king could have neither; and did think poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any man in this world. He was then so weak that he could not have lived long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood followed.

The lord Capel was then called; who walked through Westminster-hall, saluting such of his friends and acquaintance as he saw there, with a very serene countenance, accompanied with his friend Dr. Morley; who had been with him from the time of his sentence; but, at the foot of the scaffold, his lordship took his leave of him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and said, he should go no further, having some apprehension that he might receive some affront by the soldiers after his death; the chaplains who attended the two other lords being men of the time, and the doctor being well known to be most contrary.

As soon as his lordship had ascended the scaffold, he looked very vigorously about, and asked, "whether the other lords had spoken to the people with their hats on?" and being told, that "they were bare;" he gave his hat to his servant, and then with a clear and a strong voice he said, "that he was brought thither to die for doing that which he could not repent of: that he had been born and bred under the government of a king, whom he was bound in conscience to obey; under laws, to which he had been always obedient; and in the bosom of a church, which he thought the best in the world: that he had never violated his faith to either of those, and was now condemned to die against all the laws of the land; to which sentence he did submit."

He enlarged himself in commending "the great virtue and piety of the king, whom they had put to death; who was so just and so merciful a prince;" and prayed to God, "to forgive the nation that innocent blood." Then he recommended to them the present king; "who," he told them, "was their true and their lawful sovereign; and was worthy to be so: that he had the honour to have been some years near his person, and therefore he could not but know him well;" and assured them, "that he was a prince of great understanding, of an excellent nature, of great courage, an entire lover of justice, and of exemplary piety; that he was not to be shaken in his religion, and had all those princely virtues, which could make a nation happy:" and therefore advised them "to submit to his government, as the only means to preserve themselves, their posterity, and the protestant religion." And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after some prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his knees, he submitted himself, with an unparalleled Christian courage, to the fatal stroke, which deprived the nation of the noblest champion it had.

He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whom Cromwell's own character well described; and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a state of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs; and he was so much the more happy, in that he thought himself most blessed in them.

And yet the king's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the crown, than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excused him for some remission of his former warmth. But it made no other impression upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and, with the same cheerfulness, to obey the first summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a man, that whoever shall, after him, deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear, that his courage, virtue and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the lord Capel.

So ended the year one thousand six hundred forty-eight; a year of reproach and infamy above all years which had passed before it; a year of the highest dissimulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest villany and most bloody treasons, that any nation was ever cursed with, or under: a year, in which the memory of all the transactions ought to be rased out of all records, lest, by the success of it, atheism, infidelity, and rebellion, should be propagated in the world: a year, of which we may say, as the historian said of the time of Domitian, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio;* or, as the same writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*

THE HISTORY

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XII.

The young king's condition at the Hague—The States condole with him—The new council sworn—The queen's first message to him——The king thinks of going into Ireland—The affairs there at that time—The king proclaimed in Scotland : and commissioners thence sent to him—Lanrick, now duke Hamilton, and Lautherdale, came to him also—The character of this duke Hamilton—The condition of Scotland about this time—Commissioners had been sent from the parliament of Scotland before the death of the king, to the parliament of England—Their private instructions from Argyle's party—Upon the king's trial they enter their protestation and dissent—The parliament after the king's murder send their answer to it—The commissioners reply, and are imprisoned, but afterwards freed—The marquis of Argyle clogs the act for proclaiming of the king with a clause for the covenant—Middleton assembles some troops in Scotland—Factions in the king's court with reference to Scotland—The marquis of Mountrose arrives in France : thence goes into Germany—The chancellor of the exchequer sent to confer with him in a village near the Hague—The marquis comes to the Hague—The parties of the Scots now at the Hague—Earl of Lautherdale's discourse against Mountrose—Conference between duke Hamilton and an English privy counsellor concerning the affairs of Scotland—Dorislaus, an agent of the parliament, killed at the Hague by some Scottish men—The king gives a visit to the States of Holland, and delivers them a memorial—Conference between the lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer concerning the king's sending an embassy—The king declares those two to be his ambassadors—The marquis of Mountrose goes to Hamburg—The chancellor of the exchequer appointed to make a declaration relating to England—Different opinions in the king's council about it when it was read—

Upon which it was laid aside—The ambassadors for Spain begin their journey—They visit the duke of Lorrain at Brussels---The king removes to Breda—Thence to Antwerp—Thence to Brussels—The king had an interview with the archduke near Valenciennes—Mr. Elliot comes to the king: his influence upon his majesty—A private audience of the chancellor with the queen—An account of the affairs in Ireland after the marquis of Ormond's arrival there—The marquis of Ormond blocks up Dublin—The lord Inchiquin departs from him for Munster—Recruits land at Dublin from England—Jones sallies out of Dublin, and beats the marquis of Ormond's army—Cromwell made lord lieutenant of Ireland—He provides forces for his going thither—Cromwell arrives at Dublin—This news delays the king's voyage into Ireland—The affairs of France whilst the king was at Paris—The king leaves St. Germain's, and goes towards Jersey—The lord Cottington and the chancellor begin their journey for Spain, and arrive at Bourdeaux—Their passes are sent to them—They go into Madrid *incognito;* and lodge at first at sir Benjamin Wright's house—The king remains several months in Jersey—An account of the ambassadors' audience—They have a house assigned them—The character of don Lewis de Haro—Of the conde of Pignoranda—The ambassadors' private audience and demands—The answer they receive—Prince Rupert comes upon the coast of Spain—His letter to the chancellor of the exchequer—The prince with the gross of his fleet goes into the river of Lisbon—The chief commander of the parliament's fleet comes on the Spanish coast—His letter to the king of Spain—He sails into the river of Lisbon—Requires prince Rupert's fleet to be delivered up—Prince Rupert escapes out of the river of Lisbon with his fleet—The affairs of Ireland at this time—Tredagh taken by storm—Cromwell marches into Munster—His success there—The king gives over the thought of going into Ireland—Argyle designs to invite the king into Scotland—Provides, that a message be sent to his majesty to Jersey upon the old conditions—The king's answer, "that he would have a treaty with them in Holland"—The queen advises the king to agree with the Scots upon their terms—Their majesties meet at Beauvais—The king goes to Breda—The Scottish commissioners come to Breda, and the terms they bring—The king resolves for Scotland—Arguments of some lords against the king's going to Scotland—The two ambassadors in Spain had order from the king to stay where they were—They acquaint the king of Spain with their master's resolution for Scotland—The king of Spain's answer to them—The marquis of Mountrose goes to Hamburg to solicit for forces—Mountrose embarks for Scotland; lands there in March, 1649. O. S.—Publishes his declaration—The continuation of Mountrose's affairs, after the end of the year 49, to his death—Colonel Straghan sent against him and his small forces

—By whom Mountrose is routed—The marquis of Mountrose taken prisoner—Brought to Edinburgh—He is brought before the parliament—His behaviour there—The sentence against him—His discourse with the presbyterian ministers—His execution—The execution of his officers—His character—The king receives the news of all this—The affairs of Ireland—The house refuses to ratify Monk's treaty with Owen O'Neile—Cromwell gives the Irish leave to transport themselves into any prince's service—The low condition of the loyal party in England—The levellers mutiny; and are suppressed by Fairfax.

WHILST these tragedies were acting in England, and ordinances formed, as hath been said, to make it penal in the highest degree for any man to assume the title of king, or to acknowledge any man to be so, the king himself remained in a very disconsolate condition at the Hague. Though he had known the desperate state his father was long in, yet the barbarous stroke so surprised him, that he was in all the confusion imaginable, and all about him were almost bereft of their understanding. The truth is, it can hardly be conceived, with what a consternation this terrible news was received by all the common people of that country. There was a woman at the Hague, of the middling rank, who, being with child, with the horror of the mention of it, fell into travail, and in it died. There could not be more evidence of a general detestation, than there was, amongst all men of what quality soever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the king's recollection, the States presented themselves in a body to his majesty, to condole with him for the murder of his father, in terms of great sorrow and condolence, save that there was not bitterness enough against the rebels and murderers. The States of Holland, apart, performed the same civility towards his majesty; and the body of the clergy, in a very good Latin oration, delivered by the chief preacher of the Hague, lamented the misfortune, in terms of as much asperity, and detestation of the actors, as unworthy the name of Christians, as could be expressed.

The desperateness of the king's condition could not excuse his sinking under the burden of his grief: but those who were about him besought him to resume so much courage as was necessary for his present state. He thereupon caused those of his father's council who had attended him to be sworn of his privy council, adding only Mr. Long his secretary: who, before, was not of the council. All which was done before he heard from the queen his mother; who, notwithstanding the great agony she was in, which without doubt was as great a passion of sorrow as she was able to sustain,[1] wrote to the king, "that he could not do better, than to repair into France as soon as was possible, and, in the mean time, desired him not to swear any persons to be of his council, till she could speak with him." Whether it was, that she did not think those persons to be enough at her devotion; or that she would have them receive that honour upon her recommendation.[2]

The king himself had no mind to go into France, where he thought he had not been treated with excess of courtesy; and he resolved to perform all filial respect towards the queen his mother, without such a condescension and resignation of himself, as she expected;[3] and, to avoid all eclaircissements upon that subject, he heartily desired that any other course might be found more counsellable than that he should go into France. He himself lived with and upon the prince of Orange; who supplied him with all things necessary for his own person, for his mourning, and the like: but towards any other support for himself and his family, his majesty had not enough to maintain them one day: and there were very few of them who could maintain themselves in the most private way: and it was visible enough, that they should not be long able to reside in the Hague; where there was, at that very time, an agent for the parliament, Strickland; who had been there some years, but pretended at that time to reside there with his wife, (who was a Dutch woman) and without any public character, though he was still under the same credentials. And their advertisements from London assured them, that the parliament had nominated one, who was presently to be sent as their ambassador, or envoy to the States, to give them an account of their affairs, and to invite them to enter into an alliance with them. So that it was time to think of some other retreat for the king; and none appeared then so seasonable in their view, as Ireland; from whence they heard, "that prince Rupert was arrived safely at Kinsale with the fleet: that the lord Inchiquin had made a cessation with the Irish, before the lord lieutenant came thither; and the Irish had deserted the Pope's nuncio, who was driven away, and had embarked himself for France: that the marquis of Ormond was received by the lord Inchiquin with all the obedience imaginable, by which he became entirely possessed of the whole province of Munster; and that the confederate Roman catholics had invited him to Kilkenny; where he had made a full peace with them: so that they were preparing an army to march under his command against Dublin." This news made them hope, that every day would improve it so much, that it would be fit for the king to transport his own person thither in the spring.

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[1] *Ironice.*—W.

[2] She wants to govern him as she had done his father.—W.

[3] This was almost the only good resolution that Charles II. adhered to.—W.

In this conjuncture there arrived a gentleman, one sir Joseph Douglass, with a letter from the privy council of Scotland, by which they sent his majesty word, that they had proclaimed him king of Scotland; and sent him the proclamation; and wished "that he would prepare himself to repair into that his kingdom; in order to which they would speedily send another invitation to him." And that invitation arrived at the same time with some commissioners deputed by the council, and three or four preachers sent from the commissioners of the kirk. The proclamation indeed declared, "for that as much as the late king was, contrary to the dissent and protestation of that kingdom, removed by a violent death, that, by the Lord's blessing, there was left unto them a righteous heir, and lawful successor, Charles, &c. who was become their true and lawful king;" but upon condition of "his good behaviour, and strict observation of the covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation." A proclamation so strangely worded, that, though it called him their king, manifested enough to him, that he was to be subject to their determinations, in all the parts of his government. And the commissioners, both laity and clergy, spoke no other language; and saving that they bowed their bodies, and made low reverences, they appeared more like ambassadors from a free state to an equal ally, than like subjects sent to their own sovereign. At the same time, though not in the same ship, arrived likewise from Scotland the earl of Lanrick, and earl of Lautherdale; the former not knowing, till he came into Holland, that he was duke Hamilton by the slaughter of his elder brother. But they two were so far from having any authority from their country, that they were fled from thence as proscribed persons and malefactors. The earl of Lautherdale, after his departure from the Hague, in that discontent that is mentioned before, bent his course for Scotland. But before he came thither, he was informed, that the state of all things had been reversed, and the engagement declared unlawful, and to what penalties himself was liable, if he should be taken. Whereupon, without suffering his ship to go into any port, he found means to send on shore to some friends, and so to concert all things, that, without being discovered, the earl of Lanrick, and some other persons, liable to danger if they were found, put themselves on board the same ship, and arrived in Holland about that time when the other messengers from the state and from the kirk came from Scotland, and when the news came of the execution of duke Hamilton.

Whereupon the new duke kept his chamber for some days, without so much as waiting on the king; who sent a gracious message to him to condole for the loss of his brother; and all the lords, and other persons of quality about the king, made their visits to him with all civility. This duke was not inferior in wisdom, and parts of understanding, to the wisest man of that nation, and was very much esteemed by those who did not like the complying and insinuating nature of his brother. He was a man of great honour, courage, and sincerity in his nature, and, which was a rare virtue in the men of that time, was still the same man he pretended to be; and had very much to say in his own defence for the errors he had run into; which he acknowledged always with great ingenuity, and abhorred the whole proceedings of his countrymen; and, at this time, brought a heart and affection clearer and less clogged with scruples and reservations for the king's service, than any other of them did.

Though Cromwell, at his being in Scotland, had left Argyle in full possession of the government there, and had reduced and disbanded all those who were in arms against him, and promised him all necessary assistance to subdue those who should rise up in arms against him in that kingdom, and thereby compelled the committee of estates to convene and summon the parliament to assemble, which they had authority to do; and so he had suppressed the party of Hamilton, driven the earl of Lanrick to hide himself in some obscure place, and condemned the engagement as unlawful and sinful, and all the persons who advanced and promoted it, as deserters of the covenant, and so to stand excommunicated, and not to be capable of serving in parliament, or in the council of estate; so that he was sure to find no opposition in whatsoever he proposed; yet, after the parliament had served him so far, when they heard that the parliament in England was broken, and their freedom and privileges were taken from them by the insolence and power of the army, (which they perfectly hated and detested, and all those sects and libertinism they heard were introduced in religion contrary to their covenant, which Cromwell himself had promised should be strictly observed,) they begun to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the covenant itself. The delivery of the king's person into the hands of the parliament at Newcastle had been, in the instant it was done, the most unpopular and ungracious act to the whole nation of Scotland,[1] that it had been ever guilty of, and to the army they had then on foot, which took itself to be deeply wounded by the infamy of it, and was therefore quickly disbanded by the wisdom of Argyle: and the general indignation against that action was the principal incitement to that general engagement with duke Hamilton, that the honour of the nation might in some degree be repaired, or redeemed. It was a gross oversight in the Hamiltonian party, and discerned then to be so by the earl of Lanrick, that, upon that popular advantage, in which he would have found an universal concurrence, Argyle himself and all his faction had not been sacrificed to the redemption of the honour of their country. But that duke's politics did not lie that way; and, so he might return to his old post of favour in England, of which he made little doubt, he was not willing to give a new beginning to those bloody enterprises in Scotland, which, he knew well, used not to be short-lived in that climate after once begun, but had always fresh sacrifices of blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

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[1] It is certain, that neither the Scots nor the English nation were answerable for the infamy, the one of selling, and the other of murdering their king. Yet the presbyterian faction, the majority in both nations, had drove him to those extremities, which forced him into the hands of his destroyers.—W.

They had no sooner heard of the erection of a high court of justice, and of a purpose of trying the king for his life, than, notwithstanding all the artifices Argyle could use, they were all in a flame. As well the assembly of the kirk, as the parliament, renewed the sense they always had of reproach in the delivery of his person, of which the present danger he was in was the consequence. And the marquis of Argyle had had too deep a share in that wickedness, to endure the shock of a new dispute, and inquisition upon that subject; and therefore gave not the least opposition to their passion; but seemed equally concerned in the honour of the nation, to prosecute an high expostulation with those of England, for the breach of faith, and the promises, which had been made for the safety and preservation of the king's person, at the time he was delivered up; and therefore proposed "that commissioners should be forthwith sent to the parliament at London, to require the performance of what they had proposed, and to enter their dissent and protestation against all their proceedings against their king, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland." And the earl of Lothian, and two others, who were known to be most zealous for the covenant, and most enraged and incensed against the proceedings of the army, were made choice of, and presently sent away, that they might make all possible haste to Westminster, and were, immediately upon their arrival, to demand permission to wait upon the king, wherever he should be, and to receive from him such further directions, as he should judge necessary for his service.

Thus far Argyle could not oppose; and therefore was as zealous as any man to advance it; knowing that the particular instructions must be prepared by a less number of men, and not subjected to the examination and perusal of so many.

And in those, he was sure to prevent any inconvenient powers to be granted to the commissioners, with whom he had credit enough, having made the earl of Lothian secretary of state, in the place of the earl of Lanrick, and the other two being (however solicitous for the due observation of the covenant, as he himself likewise pretended to be) known to be most averse from the Hamiltonian party. Their private instructions were, "that they should not, in their enlargements and aggravations upon the subject of their message, seem to take notice, or to imply, that any violence had been used against the parliament, or any member of it: that they should be so short in their amplifications, that they gave no occasion of offence: that nothing should proceed from them justifying the king's proceedings, nor in approbation of the late engagement, or which might import a breach, or give, or be ground of a new war: they should urge, that the parliament would delay to meddle with the king's person, according to their several promises and declarations at Newcastle and at Holmby: that if they should proceed to sentence against the king, then they were to enter their dissent and protest, that this kingdom may be free from the miseries which will inevitably follow, without offering in their reasons, that princes are exempted from trial and justice: that none in the parliament of Scotland hath or had any hand in the proceedings against the king, or members of parliament in England. If they proceed, then to shew the calamities that will follow, and how grievous it must be to the kingdom of Scotland, considering his being delivered up at Newcastle: that if the papers which were entitled, *The agreement of the people*, appeared to be countenanced, and should import any thing concerning the processing of the prince, or changing the fundamental government of the kingdom, they should enter their dissent: that they should alter those their instructions, and manage their trust therein, according to the advice they should receive from their friends there: that they should prosecute their instructions concerning the covenant, and against any toleration: that they should shew, that the king's last concessions were unsatisfactory to those propositions which they had made in point of religion."

These were their private instructions; and who those friends at London were, by whose advice they were to alter their instructions, or manage their trust therein, can be understood of no other men but Cromwell, and young sir Harry Vane; with whom Argyle held close correspondence. The commissioners observed their instructions very faithfully, and, after the king had been twice brought before the high court of justice, they gave in their very calm protestation; in which they put them in mind, "that they had, near three weeks before, represented to them what endeavours had been used for taking away the king's life, and for the change of the fundamental government of the kingdom, and introducing a sinful and ungodly toleration in matters of religion; and that therein they had expressed their thoughts, and fears of the dangerous consequences, that might follow thereupon; and that they had further earnestly pressed, that there might be no further proceeding against his majesty's person, which would certainly continue the great distractions of the kingdom, and involve them in many evils, troubles, and confusions; but that, by the free counsels of both houses of parliament of England, and with the advice and consent of the parliament of Scotland, such course might be taken in relation to the king, as might be for the good and happiness of both kingdoms; both having an unquestionable and undeniable right in his person, as king of both; which duly considered, they had reason to hope, that it would have given a stop to all further proceedings against his majesty's person. But now understanding that after the imprisonment and exclusion of divers members of the house of commons, and without and against the consent of the house of peers, by a single act of their own, and theirs alone, power was given to certain persons of their own members, of the army, and some others, to proceed against his majesty's person, in order whereunto he had been brought before that extraordinary new court; they did therefore in the name of the parliament of Scotland, for their vindication from false aspersions and calumnies, declare, that though they were not satisfied with his majesty's late concessions, in the treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight, especially in the matters of religion, and were resolved not to crave his restoration to his government, before satisfaction should be given by him to that kingdom;

yet they did all unanimously with one voice, not one member excepted, disclaim the least knowledge of, or accession to, the late proceedings of the army here against the king; and did sincerely profess that it would be a great grief to their hearts, and lie heavy upon their spirits, if they should see the trusting his majesty's person to the two houses of the parliament of England to be made use of to his ruin, contrary to the declared intentions of the kingdom of Scotland, and solemn professions of the kingdom of England: and to the end that it might be manifest to the world, how much they did abominate and detest so horrid a design against his majesty's person, they did, in the name of the parliament and kingdom of Scotland, declare their dissent from the said proceedings, and the taking away of his majesty's life; protesting, that as they were altogether free from the same, so they might be free from all the miseries, evil confusions, and calamities, that might follow thereupon to the distracted kingdoms."

Whoever considers the wariness in the wording and timing this protestation, the best end whereof could be no other than the keeping the king always in prison, and so governing without him in both kingdoms, (which was thought to have been the purpose and agreement of Cromwell and Argyle when they parted,) must conclude that both the commissioners, and they who sent them, laboured and considered more, what they were to say in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the present mischief they seemed to apprehend. And the parliament best knew their temper, when they deferred taking notice of their protestation, till after they had executed their execrable villany; and then they sent them an answer that might suit with all their palates. They said, "they had heretofore told them, what power this nation had in the fundamentals of government: that if Scotland had not the same power and liberty, as they went not about to confine them, so they would not be limited by them, but leaving them to act in theirs as they should see cause, they resolved to maintain their own liberties as God should enable them. And as they were very far from imposing upon them, so they should not willingly suffer impositions from them, whilst God gave them strength or lives to oppose them." They said, "the answer they made to their first and second letter was, that after a long and serious deliberation of their own intrinsical power, and trust, (derived to them by the providence of God, through the delegation of the people,) and upon the like considerations of what themselves and the whole nation had suffered from the misgovernment and tyranny of that king, both in peace, and by the wars, and considering, how fruitless and full of danger and prejudice the many addresses to him for peace had been, and being conscious how much they had provoked and tempted God, by the neglect of the impartial execution of justice, in relation to the innocent blood spilt and mischief done in the late wars, they had proceeded in such a course of justice against that man of blood, as they doubted not the just God (who is no respecter of persons) did approve and would countenance with his blessings upon the nation; and though perhaps they might meet with many difficulties before their liberties and peace were settled, yet they hoped they should be preserved from confusion, by the good-will of him who dwelt in the bush, which burned, and was not consumed; and that the course they had taken with the late king, and meant to follow towards others the capital enemies of their peace, was, they hoped, that which would be for the good and happiness of both nations; of which if that of Scotland would think to make use, and vindicate their own liberty and freedom, (which lay before them, if they gave them not away,) they would be ready to give them all neighbourly and friendly assistance in the establishing thereof; and desired them to take it into their most serious consideration, before they espoused that quarrel, which could bring them no other advantage than the entailing upon them, and their posterities, a lasting war, with all the miseries which attended it, and slavery under a tyrant and his issue."

It cannot be denied, but that Scotland had by this a fair invitation to have made themselves a poor republic, under the shelter and protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the commissioners, who well knew how unsuitable such a change would be to the constitution of their government, and that they might be welcome to their own country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to this answer with more courage than they had yet expressed; for which, notwithstanding their qualification, they were imprisoned by the parliament; and, upon new instance from Scotland, set at liberty afterwards.

Matters being reduced to this state, the marquis of Argyle could not hinder the new king's being acknowledged and proclaimed king, nor from being invited home; which since he could not obstruct, it would be his masterpiece to clog the proclamation itself with such conditions as might terrify the new king from accepting the invitation; and therefore he caused this clause to be inserted in the body of the proclamation itself, "because his majesty is bound, by the law of God and the fundamental laws of this kingdom, to rule in righteousness and equity to the honour of God, and the good of religion, and the wealth of the people; it is hereby declared, that before he be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall give satisfaction to this kingdom in those things which concern the security of religion, the unity betwixt the kingdoms, and the good and peace of this kingdom, according to the national covenant and solemn league and covenant; for which end, they were resolved, with all possible expedition, to make their humble and earnest address to his majesty."

This was the proclamation that sir Joseph Douglass brought to the Hague, and the subject upon which the commissioners were to invite his majesty to go for Scotland, whose instructions were very suitable to the proclamation: and at the same time when the commissioners came from thence, Middleton, and some other officers, who had been in their last army, hearing that the prince was proclaimed king, thought it was seasonable to put themselves into a posture to serve him upon his arrival; and so assembled some of those troops which had formerly served under them in the north of Scotland; whereupon David Lesley was appointed forthwith, with a party of horse and foot, against those royalists, whom they knew to be real asserters of his cause, without any other interest or design than of their performing their duties, as loyal subjects ought to do: and the kirk at the same time declared, "that, before the king should be received, albeit they had declared his right by succession, he should first sign the covenant, submit to the kirk's censure, renounce the sins of his father's house, and the iniquity of his mother," with other things of the like nature. All which information arrived at the same time with the commissioners, that they who were about the king might not be too much exalted with their master's being declared king of one of his three kingdoms. And it was very manifest, by all that passed then and afterwards, that the marquis of Argyle meant only to satisfy the people, in declaring that they had a king, without which they could not be satisfied, but that such conditions should be put upon him, as he knew he would not submit to ; and so he should be able, with the concurrence of the kirk, to govern the kingdom, till, by Cromwell's assistance and advice, he might reverse that little approach he had made towards monarchy by proclaiming a king.

It was a great misfortune to the king, and which always attends courts which labour under great wants and necessities, that, whilst the greatest union imaginable amongst the few friends he had was necessary, and of too little power to buoy him up from the distresses which overwhelmed him, there was yet so great a faction and animosity amongst them, that destroyed any the most probable design that could offer itself; as it now fell out with reference to Scotland, which, if united, might yet be able to give reputation at least, if not a vigorous assistance to the king's interest.

The marquis of Mountrose, who hath been mentioned before, had been obliged by the late king to lay down his arms ; and after he had performed such wonderful actions in Scotland, and left that kingdom upon his majesty's first coming into the Scottish army to Newcastle, had first arrived in France, and had not such a reception from the queen of England, and those who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable services he had performed for the king had merited. The truth is, he was somewhat elated with the great actions he had done ; which, upon his first coming to Paris, he caused to be published in a full relation in Latin, dedicated to the prince of Wales ; in which, as his own person, courage, and conduct was well extolled, so the reputation of all the rest of that nation (upon whose affections the queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and suppressed; which obliged the queen and the prince to look less graciously upon him; which he could not bear without expressing much disturbance at it. He was then a man of *eclat*,[1] had many servants, and more officers, who had served under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the queen should enable him to maintain with some lustre, by a liberal assignation of monies. On the other hand, the queen was in straits enough, and never openhanded, and used to pay the best services with receiving them graciously, and looking kindly upon those who did them. And her graces were still more towards those who were like to do services, than to those who had done them.[2] So that, after a long attendance, and some overtures made by him to cardinal Mazarine, to raise an army for the service of that king, which he did not think were received with that regard his great name deserved, the marquis left France, and made a journey into Germany to the emperor's court, desiring to see armies, till he could come to command them; and was returned to Brussels, about the time that the prince came back into Holland with the fleet; and lay there very privately, and as *incognito*, for some time, till he heard of the murder of the late king. Then he sent a servant over to the king with the tender of his service, and to know, "if his majesty thought his attendance upon him might bring any prejudice to his majesty; and if so, that he would send over the chancellor of the exchequer to Sevenbergh, a town in Flanders, where he was at present to expect him, and had matters to communicate to him of much importance to his majesty's service." Whether he did this out of modesty, and that he might first know his majesty's pleasure, or out of some vanity that was predominant in him, that he might seem to come to the king, after the coldness he had met at Paris, by a kind of treaty, the king commanded the chancellor presently to go to him; and, "if he could, without exasperating him," (which he had no mind to do,) wished, " he might be persuaded rather for some time to suspend his coming to the Hague, than presently to appear there ;" which was an injunction very disagreeable to the chancellor; who in his judgment believed his majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that nation in his esteem.[1]

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[1] Card. de Retz, who at this time saw Montrose in Paris, was so struck with his port and appearance, that, in his Memoirs, he says the marquis put him in mind of those ancient heroes, that we met with only in the relations of Plutarch.—W.

[2] In this she was but like all other princes; so that amongst her many ill qualities, this ought to go for nothing.—W.

The sudden violent frost, which shut up all the rivers in less than four and twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a short time after, and upon another message from him, they met at a village three or four miles off the Hague ; whither the marquis had transported himself. The chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left Oxford, when he seemed to have very much modesty, and deference to the opinion and judgment of other men. But he had, since that time, done so many signal actions, won so many battles, and in truth made so great a noise in the world, that there appeared no less alteration to be in his humour and discourse, than there had been in his fortune. He seemed rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the king, and how to make a party that would be fast to him, than out of any doubt that his presence would not be acceptable to his majesty. There was yet no news from Scotland since the murder of the king, and he seemed to think of nothing but that the king would presently send him thither with some forces, to prepare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that night together in conference, and the next morning the chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, which did not abound with all things desirable, or somewhere else, until he might give him notice, what the king's sense should be of the matters discoursed between them ;

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[1] In this unquestionably the chancellor judged right. The body of those Scotchmen, who pretended to be disposed to serve the king, expected much for the little they were resolved to do. They were self-interested and bigoted. Montrose, inflamed with the love of glory, had nothing to ask for himself, or the public, but the king's countenance to restore his master to his just rights, despising those who *bartered*, and hating those who *conditioned* with their sovereign.—W.

insisting principally, " that, if his going into Scotland should be thought presently to be necessary, it would then be as necessary, that he should not be taken notice of publicly to have been with the king :" with which reason he seemed satisfied ; and promised " not to come to the Hague, till he should first receive advice from the chancellor." But when he heard of the commissioners being come from Scotland, and of the other lords' arrival there, he would no longer defer his journey thither, but came to the Hague well attended by servants and officers, and presented himself to the king; who received him with a very good countenance.

There were at this time in the Hague the commissioners who came from the council and the kirk to invite the king into Scotland, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, duke Hamilton, the earl of Lautherdale, and others of the nobility of that faction, who were now as odious, and as much persecuted by that party, which then governed Scotland, and which in that manner invited the king, as any men were who had served the king from the beginning. There was also the marquis of Mountrose, with more of the nobility, as the earls of Seaford, and Kinoul, and others, who adhered to Mountrose, and believed his clear spirit to be most like to advance the king's service. Of these three parties, it might reasonably have been hoped that the two last, being equally persecuted by the power that governed, should have been easily united to have suppressed the other. But it was a business too hard for the king to bring to pass; and he could as easily have persuaded the parliament to reject Cromwell, as the lords of the engagement, and those who had joined with duke Hamilton, to be reconciled to Mountrose : so that when the king hoped to have drawn all the Scottish nobility together, to have consulted what answer he should give to the messages he had received from the council and the kirk, with which they themselves were enough offended, those lords of the engagement did not only refuse to meet with the lord Mountrose, but, as soon as he came into the room where they were, though his majesty himself was present, they immediately withdrew, and left the room ; and had the confidence to desire the king, " that the marquis of Mountrose" (whom they called James Graham) "might be forbidden to come into his majesty's presence, or court, because he stood excommunicated by the kirk of Scotland, and degraded and forfeited by the judicatory of that kingdom." This proposition and demand they made confidently in writing under their hands, and abounded so much in this sense, that a learned and worthy Scottish divine, Dr. Wishart, who was then chaplain to a Scottish regiment in the service of the States, being appointed to preach before the king on the Sunday following, they formally besought the king, "that he would not suffer him to preach before him, nor to come into his presence, because he stood excommunicated by the kirk of Scotland, for having refused to take the covenant;" though it was known, that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that divine was, that they knew he was the author of the excellent relation of the lord Mountrose's actions in Scotland. This carriage and behaviour of those lords appeared ridiculous to all sober men, that any men should have the presumption to accuse those who had served the king with that fidelity, and were only branded by those rebellious judicatories for having performed their duties of allegiance, and to demand that the king himself should condemn them for having served his father: which made those of his majesty's council full of indignation at their insolence, and his majesty himself declared his being offended, by using the marquis of Mountrose with the more countenance, and hearing the doctor preach with the more attention. But from this very absurd behaviour, besides his majesty's desire being frustrated, of receiving the joint advice of the nobility of that kingdom in an affair that so much concerned himself and them; and besides the displeasure, and distance, that it caused between them and the king's council, (who thought the Scottish lords might as reasonably move the king, that they might be removed, who lay under the same brand and reproaches in England for adhering to the crown, as the other did in Scotland,) the king had reason to be troubled with another apprehension, which was, that the marquis of Mountrose (who could not be ignorant of any thing which the other persons said or did) would, out of just indignation, take revenge upon those persons whom he contemned too much; and so that the peace of the country, where his majesty was but a guest, would be violated by his subjects, as it were in his own sight; which would make his absence from thence the more desired.

He, to whom this unreasonable animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great fomenter and prosecutor of it, was the earl of Lautherdale; whose fiery spirit was not capable of any moderation. The chancellor conferring one day with him upon a subject that could not put him into passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desired him "to inform him, what foul offence the marquis of Mountrose had ever committed, that should hinder those to make a conjunction with him, who, in respect of the rebels, were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who could not more desire the king's restitution than he did." The earl told him calmly enough, "that he could not imagine or conceive the barbarities and inhumanities Mountrose was guilty of, in the time he made a war in Scotland; that he never gave quarter to any man, but pursued all the advantages he ever got, with the utmost outrage and cruelty: that he had in one battle killed fifteen hundred of one family, of the Campbels, of the blood and name of Argyle, and that he had utterly rooted out several names and entire noble families." The other told him, "that it was the nature and condition of that war, that quarter was given on neither side; that those prisoners which were taken by the Scots, as once they did take some persons of honour of his party, were afterwards in cold blood hanged reproachfully, which was much worse than if they had been killed in the field;" and asked him, "if Mountrose had ever caused any man to die in cold blood, or after the battle was ended; since what was done in it *flagrante*, was more to be imputed to the fierceness of his soldiers, than to his want of humanity." The earl confessed, "that he did not know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in the field;" but concluded with more passion, "that his behaviour there was so savage, that Scotland would never forgive him." And in other company, where the same subject was debated, he swore with great passion, "that though he wished nothing more in this world than to see the king restored, he had much rather that he should never be restored, than that James Graham should be permitted to come into the court:" of which declaration of his the king was informed by William Legg and sir William Armorer, who were both present at the Hague, and in the company, when he said it.

There was at that time in the Hague the lord Newburgh, who, after the murder of the late king, was compelled, together with his wife, the lady Aubigney, to fly out of England, Cromwell every day making discoveries of correspondences which had been between the king and them. And thereupon they made an escape from thence, and came to the Hague. The lady had, in the life of her former husband the lord Aubigney, and during the time of her widowhood, held much friendship with the chancellor, and was very willing it should continue with her new husband, whom he had not seen before; he having been too young to have had a part in the former war, had been then sent, by his majesty's direction, to be bred in France; from whence he returned not till his majesty was in the hands of the Scottish army; and from that time he performed all the offices of fidelity and duty to the king, that a generous and worthy person could find any opportunity for; with which his majesty was abundantly satisfied and pleased: and he now transported himself and his wife into Holland, that he might leave her there, and himself attend the king in any expedition.

This lady was a woman of a very great wit, and most trusted and conversant in those intrigues, which at that time could be best managed and carried on by ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all companies: and so she had not been a stranger to the most secret transactions with the Scots, and had much conversation with the lord Lanrick, during the time the king was at Hampton Court, and whilst he stayed afterwards in London, when the king was imprisoned in the Isle of Wight; and being now both in the Hague, they had much conversation together. She had likewise had long acquaintance and friendship with one of the council,[1] who, she knew, had been as much trusted as any by the father, and was believed to have credit with the present king. She lamented those divisions amongst the Scots, which every body spoke of, and every body knew the disorder they produced in the king's councils; and said, "she desired nothing more, than that there were a good understanding between duke Hamilton and the chancellor; which," she said, "she was sure would easily be, if they two had but once a frank conference together." The other, who indeed had an esteem for the duke, seemed very desirous of it: and she thereupon told him, that "the duke had expressed to her, that he would be willing to embrace the occasion:" and it was so concerted, that within a day or two they met as by chance at her lodgings. And she so dexterously introduced them to a civility towards each other, and to express their inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general conversation there, to which she left them, and went herself abroad, they parted with fair professions of future good will; and the other promised to visit the duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted; and he was with him accordingly, and found him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the duke having commanded his servant to tell any who came to visit him, that he was asleep. The other spoke of "the proclamation, and the manner of inviting the king into Scotland, and of the strange spirit that possessed those who governed there, and persuaded them to imagine it possible, that the king could ever be persuaded with to take the covenant, or that it could be of advantage to him to do so; since it could not but much alienate the affections of all that party in England that had served his father, upon whom he ought chiefly to depend for his restoration to the government of that kingdom." Then he spoke of "the differences and jealousies which were between those of that nation who had an equal desire to serve the king, and seemed to be equally prosecuted by the party that now prevailed, which had excluded both:" and wished "that some expedient might be found out to unite all those; and particularly that his grace and the marquis of Mountrose might be reconciled; towards which," he said, "he was sure that the marquis had great inclination, and had always esteemed him a man of honour; which appeared by the book which was published, where he was always worthily mentioned, though he had not dealt so well with many others."

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[1] The noble historian himself.—W.

When the duke had heard him with very civil attention, he told him as to the first part, "concerning the proclamation, and the manner of inviting the king to come to them, he was not to make any other judgment by it, than only of the person of the marquis of Argyle; who, with the assistance of some few ministers, and others his creatures, did at present govern: that Argyle well knew there was an absolute necessity, in respect of the whole people, to proclaim the king after the murder of his father; and therefore he could find no other way to keep him from coming thither, but by clogging the proclamation and message with those unworthy expressions, which might deter him from putting himself into their hands; which Argyle did not wish he should do, because in his absence he was sure he should govern all, being well agreed with Cromwell how the government should be carried; and so the king might be kept out, Cromwell would support him against all other parties; but that they both knew well enough, that, if his majesty were once there, the whole nation would stick to him and obey him." He confessed, "that there was generally so great a superstition for the covenant, that whosoever should speak against it for the present, would lose all credit, though he did acknowledge it had done much mischief, and would do more whilst it should be insisted upon; but," he said, "that must be a work of time, and an effect of the king's government: which would find it necessary, in many other respects, to lessen the power of the ministers; which being lessened, the reverence of the covenant would quickly fall too; and till then, he, and all men, must have patience. For the second," he said, "he wished heartily that there could be a union of all parties which desired the king's restoration, and that the animosity against the marquis of Mountrose might be extinguished. For his own part, that he had only one quarrel against him, which was that, by his unjust calumnies and prosecution, he had driven him into rebellion; which nothing else could have done. And for that he always asked God forgiveness from his heart, and desired nothing more than to repair his fault by losing his life for the king; and would, with all his heart, join to-morrow with the marquis of Mountrose, in carrying on the king's service, though he did believe, in that conjuncture, the animosity against the marquis was so great, that, if he should declare such an inclination, all his own friends would fall from him, and abhor him." He said, "his own condition was very hard; for that having been always bred up in the church of England, for which he had a great reverence, he was forced to comply with the covenant; which he perfectly detested, and looked upon it as the ruin of his nation; and would be as glad as any man of a good opportunity to declare against it. But," said he, "I dare not say this; and if I did, I should have no power or credit to serve the king. There is," said he, "a very worthy gentleman, who lodges in this house, the earl of Lautherdale, my friend and my kinsman; who, upon my conscience, loves me heartily; and yet I dare say nothing of this to him, either against the covenant,[1] or for the marquis of Mountrose: and, if I should, I believe he would rather choose to kill me, than to join with me: so much he is transported with prejudice in both these particulars, and so incapable to hear reason upon either of those arguments, though, in all other things, few men have a better understanding, or can discourse more reasonably."

Whilst they continued in all possible freedom in this conference, the earl of Lautherdale, who it seems was informed of the other's being there, came in his nightgown into the chamber, and so broke off the discourse. The other, after sitting some time in general conversation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the duke and him. But as himself told the lady Aubigney, who shortly after died there, "he could not, without giving jealousy to his friend Lautherdale, which he had no mind to do, spend so much time with the other in private as he could have been willing to have done:" and the death of that lady lessened the opportunities.

In this unsteady and irresolute condition of the king's council, it was very manifest, that, how long soever his majesty should defer the resolution to what place he would remove, he should not be able to stay long in the place where he was. The States, especially those of Holland, let fall somewhat every day in their councils and consultations, "that the king's residing in the Hague would be very inconvenient to them;" and it was the great interest of the prince of Orange, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from sending a message directly to his majesty, to desire him, "that he would depart from that country, as soon as he could." And there happened an accident at this time, which made the resolution necessary, and would inevitably have drawn on that message, which had yet been kept back.

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[1] Yet this earl Lauderdale was afterwards the greatest persecutor of the covenant and covenanters that ever was; and being at the same time the most corrupt tool of arbitrary power, it shews that conscience had never any thing to do with his lordship's determinations.—W.

It was touched before, that there was a purpose at London, to send over an envoy from thence into Holland, to prepare the way for a further good intelligence and negociation, which might end in a firm peace, and a reciprocal alliance between the two republics. To that purpose one Dorislaus, a doctor in the civil law, was named; who, being born in Delpht in Holland, had been bred at Leyden, and afterwards lived long in London, having been received into Gresham college as a professor in one of those chairs which are endowed for public lectures in that society, and had been, from the beginning of the troubles, in the exercise of the judge advocate's office in the earl of Essex's army. In this conjuncture this man arrived at the Hague, and took his lodging in a house where strangers used to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwise for their better accommodation. Whilst he was at supper, the same evening that he came to the town, in company of many others who used to eat there, half a dozen gentlemen entered the room with their swords drawn, and required those who were at the table "not to stir; for that there was no harm intended to any but the agent who came from the rebels in England, who had newly murdered their king." And one of them, who knew Dorislaus, pulled him from the table, and with a dagger killed him at his feet: and thereupon they all put up their swords, and walked leisurely out of the house, leaving those who were in the room, in much amazement and consternation. Though all who were engaged in the enterprise went quietly away, and so out of the town, insomuch as no one of them was ever apprehended, or called in question, yet they kept not their own counsel so well, (believing they had done a very heroic act,) but that it was generally known they were all Scottish men, and most of them servants or dependants upon the marquis of Mountrose.

The king was exceedingly troubled and perplexed with this accident, which he could not foresee, and easily discerned that it would be applied to his prejudice; and that the States could not but highly resent it, in many respects; that the man who was killed was in truth their own subject, and employed to them, as a public minister, by those with whom they had no mind to have any quarrel. Upon all which his majesty concluded, that his presence there would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: besides, that there had been the same night some quarrels and fighting in the streets between some servants of the king and some gentlemen of the town; in which a son of one of the States was dangerously hurt, though he recovered afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon these disorders, to which they had not been accustomed, with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the king. They were highly offended with what was past, and sensible what expostulations and clamour for justice they must expect, and sustain from England, and what reproaches they must undergo for suffering all those who had been guilty of such a crime, to escape the ministers of justice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great scandal to their government: yet they proceeded very slowly in their inquisition, and with such formalities as were usual, (and which could bring no prejudice to the offenders; who were either gone out of their dominions, or concealed themselves in other towns, where the same formalities were to be used, if they were discovered,) and without so much reflection upon the king, as if they believed that the guilty persons had any relation to his service: yet they took notice of "the multitude of strangers which were in the town, and how impossible it would be for them to preserve the peace and good government thereof, if such resort were not restrained." They aggravated exceedingly "the indignity that had been offered to the state itself, in the attempt that had been made upon a person under their protection, and for whose safety the public faith was, upon the matter, engaged ;" with insinuation enough, " that it would be fit for the king to remove from thence." Of all which his majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his purpose to leave them, than to expect a plain injunction from them to do so. He found this the more necessary to be done, since from the time that the Scottish commissioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuse into the opinions of that people, " that they were sent from the kingdom of Scotland, that was entirely and unanimously at his majesty's disposal, to invite him to repair thither, and to take possession of his government there, where there was already an army preparing to assist him towards the recovery of his other dominions ; but that there was a party of evil counsellors about his majesty, who dissuaded him from accepting that their invitation, except they would be content to change the government of their church, and to establish episcopacy there again." And by these insinuations they persuaded many of the States to believe, that the defence of bishops, for whom they had no regard, was the sole difference between the king and them, which kept the king from going into Scotland: so that the king was not without some apprehension, that, by that mistake and false information, the States might give him advice to accept the Scots' invitation. And therefore he sent to the States of Holland, "that he had a desire to say somewhat to them, if they would assign him an audience the next day ;" which they readily did.

The king was received in the same manner he had been formerly, and being conducted into the room of council, after a short compliment, he delivered a paper to them, which he desired might be read, and that he might receive their advice thereupon as soon as they pleased. The memorial contained, in the first place, his majesty's acknowledgment of the civilities he had received there, and his desire " that by them the States General" (who were not at that time assembled) " might be informed of such his majesty's sense of their favours; especially in the full and high detestation they had expressed of the impious and unparalleled murder of his royal father of blessed memory, their fast and unshaken ally, by which the forms and rules of all kind of government were no less violated and dissolved, than that of monarchy: that he came to inform them that he did intend, in a short time, so to dispose of his person, as might with God's blessing most probably advance his affairs; and that for the better doing thereof, and that he might in so important an affair receive their particular advice, he should impart to them the true state and condition of his several dominions. That he needed not inform them of the deplorable condition of his kingdom of England, where the hearts and affections of his loyal subjects were so depressed and kept under by the power and cruelty of those who had murdered their late sovereign, and who every day gave fresh and bloody instances of their tyranny, to fright men from their allegiance, that for the present no man could believe that miserable kingdom could be fit for his majesty to trust his person in: that in Scotland, it is very true, that his majesty is proclaimed king, but with such limitations and restrictions against his exercise of his royal power, that in truth they had only given him the name, and denied him the authority: that above five parts of six of the nobility and chief gentry of that kingdom were likewise excluded from their just right, and from any part in the administration of the public affairs; so that that kingdom seemed not sufficiently prepared for his majesty's reception; but that he hoped, and doubted not, that there would be in a short time a perfect union and right understanding between all his subjects of that his kingdom, and a due submission and obedience from them all to his majesty, for that he was resolved (and had never had the least purpose to the contrary) to preserve and maintain the government of church and state in that kingdom, as it is established by the laws thereof, without any violation or alteration on his part: so that there could be no difference between him and his subjects of that kingdom, except they should endeavour, and press his majesty to alter the laws and government of his other kingdoms; which as it would be very unreasonable to desire, so it is not in his power to do if he should consent, and join with his subjects of Scotland to that purpose: which made him confident, that, when they had thoroughly weighed and considered what was good for themselves, as well as for him, they would acquiesce with enjoying the laws and privileges of that kingdom, without desiring to infringe or impose upon those of their brethren and neighbours." And his majesty desired the States, "that if any persons had endeavoured to make any impressions upon them, that he hath or ever had any other intentions or desires, with reference to his subjects of Scotland, than what himself now expressed to them to have, that they would give no credit to them: and assured them, that they should always find him constant to those resolutions, and especially, that all ways and means which might lead to the advancement and propagation of the protestant religion should be so heartily embraced by him, that the world should have cause to believe him to be worthy of his title of *Defender of the faith*, which he valued as his greatest attribute."

This being the true present condition of his two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and it being necessary for his majesty, to give life to the afflicted state of his affairs by his own personal activity and vigour, he told them, "there remained only, that he should impart to them the like state of his other kingdom of Ireland; which had likewise sent to him, and desired him to repair thither with great importunity: that the marquis of Ormond, his lieutenant there, had concluded a peace with the Roman catholics; and that thereby his majesty was entirely possessed of three parts of four of that his large and fruitful kingdom, and of the command of good armies, and of many good ships to be joined to his own fleet; and that he had reason to hope and to believe that Dublin itself, and the few other places, which had submitted to the rebellious power in England, either already were, upon the knowledge of that odious parricide, returned to their allegiance, or would speedily be reduced; of which he expected every day to receive advertisement; which if it should fall out, yet he foresaw many objections might be made against his going thither, not only in regard of the difficulty and danger of his passage, but of the jealousies which would arise upon the large concessions which were made unto the Roman catholics of that kingdom; which could not be avoided." And having thus given them a clear information of the state of his three kingdoms, his majesty concluded with his desire, "that the States would give him their advice as freely, to which of them he should repair; and that they would give him all necessary assistance that he might prosecute their counsel."

Many men had great fear, that the king would have brought great prejudice to himself by this communication, and, upon the matter, obliged himself to follow their advice; which they apprehended would be contrary to his own judgment. For nothing was more commonly discoursed among the Dutch, and by many of the States themselves, than "that the king ought, without delay, to throw himself into the arms of Scotland, and to gratify them in all they desired: that bishops were not worth the contending for; and that the supporting them had been the ruin of his father, and would be his, if he continued in the same obstinacy." But the king knew well that they would not so much concern themselves in his broken affairs, as to give him advice what to do: and it was necessary for him to get a little more time, upon some occurrences which would every day happen, before he took a positive resolution which way to steer: for though, in his own opinion, Ireland was the place to which he was to repair, yet he knew that, notwithstanding the peace that was made, there were several parties still in arms there, besides those who adhered to the parliament, who refused to submit to that peace. Though the general council at Kilkenny (which had been always looked upon as the representative of the confederate catholics of that kingdom, and to which they had always submitted) had fully consented to the treaty of peace with the lord lieutenant, yet Owen O'Neile, who had the command of all the Irish in Ulster, and who was looked upon as the best general they had, totally refused to submit to it, and positively protested against it, as not having provided for their interest; and that council was not sorry for his separation, there being little less animosity between those of Ulster and the other Irish, than was between them them both and the English: and they knew that O'Neile more insisted upon recompense in lands and preferments, than upon any provision that concerned religion itself. Then the Scots in Ulster, who were very numerous, and under good discipline, and well provided with arms and ammunition, would not submit to the commands of the lord lieutenant; but were resolved to follow the example of their countrymen, and to see the king admitted and received, as well as proclaimed, before they would submit to his authority: which made the marquis of Ormond the less troubled at the obstinacy of O'Neile, (though he had used all the means he had to draw him in,) since he presumed the Scots and he would mortify each other, during the time that he should spend in making himself strong enough to suppress them both: for the Scots who would not join with the marquis were very vigorous in prosecuting the war against O'Neile, and the Irish of Ulster. These divisions, factions, and confusions in Ireland, made the king the more solicitous that his council should be unanimous for his going thither, at least that the Scots, how virulent soever against each other, should all concur in their advice, "that it was not yet seasonable for him to go for Scotland;" which made him labour so much to bring the Hamiltonians, and those who followed Mountrose, whom he believed both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it jointly to the king in council: but it is said before how impossible it was to obtain that conjunction.

When the king found that it was not possible to bring the lords of the Scottish nation together to confer upon the affairs of that kingdom, he thought to have drawn them severally, that is, those of the engagement by themselves, and the marquis of Mountrose with his friends by themselves, to have given him their advice in the presence of his council, that so, upon debate thereof between them, his majesty might the more maturely have determined what he was to do. The marquis of Mountrose expressed a great willingness to give his majesty satisfaction this or any other way, being willing to deliver his opinion concerning things, or persons, before any body, and in any place. But the lords of the engagement positively refused to deliver their opinion, but to the king himself, and not in the presence of his council; which, they said, "would be to confess a kind of subordination of the kingdom of Scotland, which was independent on the council of England;" and duke Hamilton told the counsellor, with whom he had before so freely conversed, and who expostulated with him upon it,

" that it was the only ground of the heavy judgment in parliament against the earl of Traquair, that, having been the king's commissioner in Scotland, he gave account to the king of his transactions, and of the affairs of that kingdom, at the council table in England; whereof he was likewise a member; so jealous that kingdom was, and still is, of their native privileges;" and therefore desired, " that he might not be pressed to do what had been so penal to another in his own sight."

The king satisfied himself with having all their opinions delivered to himself, subscribed under all their hands, which every one consented to: though most of them would have been glad that the king would have gone into Scotland, upon what condescensions soever; because they all believed his presence would quickly turn all, and that they should be quickly restored to their estates, which they cared most for; yet nobody presumed to give that advice, or seemed to think it seasonable. So that the king resumed the former debate of going directly for Ireland, and direction was given for providing ships, and all other things necessary for that voyage. There remained only one doubt, whether his majesty should take France in his way, that he might see his mother, who by letters and messages pressed him very earnestly so to do; or whether he should embark in Holland directly for Ireland; which would be less loss of time, and might be done so early in the spring, before the parliament's fleet should put to sea.

They who did not wish that the queen should exercise any power over the king, or have too much credit with him, were against his going into France, as " an occasion of spending more time than his affairs would permit, and an obligation to make a greater expense than he had, or knew where to have, means to defray:" and they thought it an argument of moment, " that, from the time of the murder of his father, the king had neither received letter of condolement from France, nor the least invitation to go thither." On the other side, they who wished and hoped that the queen would have such an influence upon the king that his council should have less credit with him, desired very much that his majesty would make France his way. The Scots desired it very much, believing they should find her majesty very propitious to their counsels, and inclined to trust their undertakings; and they were very sure that Mountrose would never go to Paris, or have credit with the queen.

The prince of Orange, and the princess royal his wife, had a great desire to gratify the queen, and that the king should see her in the way; and proposed, " that his majesty might appoint a place, where the queen and he might meet, without going to Paris; and, after three or four days stay together, his majesty might hasten his journey to some convenient port, from whence he might embark for Ireland by a shorter passage than from Holland; and the prince of Orange would appoint two ships of war, to attend his majesty in that French port, before he should get thither." His majesty inclined this way, without positively resolving upon it; yet directed " that his own goods of bulk, and his inferior servants, should be presently embarked to take the quickest passage to Ireland;" and directed " that the rest, who were to wait upon his person, should likewise send their goods and baggage, and such servants who were not absolutely necessary for their present service, upon the same ships for Ireland;" declaring, " that, if he made France his way, he would make all possible haste, and go with as light a train as he could." Hereupon two ships were shortly after provided, and many persons (and great store of baggage) embarked for Ireland, and arrived there in safety; but most of the persons, and all the goods, miscarried in their return, when they knew that the king was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

This resolution being taken, the lord Cottington, who had a just excuse from his age, being then seventy-five years old, to wish to be in some repose, considered with himself how to become disentangled from the fatigue of those voyages and journeys, which he saw the king would be obliged to make. In Holland he had no mind to stay, having never loved that people, nor been loved by them; and the climate itself was very pernicious to his health, by reason of the gout, which frequently visited him. France was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was looked upon as one who had been always addicted to Spain, and no friend to the crown of France; so that he was willing to find a good occasion to spend the remainder of his age where he had spent so much of his youth, in Spain, and where he believed that he might be able to do the king more service than any other way. And there was newly come to the Hague an English gentleman, who had been an officer in the king's army, and was at Madrid when the news came thither of the murder of the king: and he related many particulars of the passion and indignation of that court, upon that occasion, against the rebels; that "the king, and all the court, put themselves into solemn mourning;" (and he repeated some expressions which the king and don Lewis de Haro had made of tenderness and compassion for our king;) and that "the king of Spain spoke of sending an ambassador to his majesty."

These relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly soever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the lord Cottington took occasion to confer with the chancellor of the exchequer (with whom he held a strict friendship, they living and keeping house together) of "the ill condition the king was in, and that he ought to think, what prince's kindness was like to be of most use and benefit to his majesty, and from whom he might hope to receive a sum of money; if not as much as might serve for a martial expedition, yet such an annual exhibition as might serve for his support: that he had already experience of France, and knew well the intelligence that the cardinal had at that very time with Cromwell: but he did verily believe, that if the king of Spain were dexterously treated with, and not more asked of him than could consist with his affairs to spare, a good yearly support might be procured there, and the expectation of it might be worth the king's sending an ambassador thither." He said, "he was more of that opinion since the king had taken the resolution of going for Ireland; where the king of Spain's credit might be of great benefit to him: that Owen O'Neile, with the old Irish of Ulster, were still in arms against the king; and would not submit to the conditions which the general council of the confederate catholics had consented to with the marquis of Ormond: that O'Neile had been bred in Spain, and had a regiment in Flanders, and so must have an absolute dependence upon his catholic majesty, for whom all the old Irish had ever had a particular devotion; and if it were only to dispose him and that people to the king's obedience, and to accept those conditions which might conveniently be given to them, it were well worth such a journey; and the king of Spain would never refuse to gratify the king to the utmost that could be desired in that particular." The chancellor thought this discourse not unreasonable, and asked him, "who would be fit to be sent thither?" not imagining that he had any thought of going thither himself. He answered, "that, if the king would be advised by him, he should send them two thither, and he did believe they should do him very good service;" at which the chancellor smiled, thinking he had only spoke in jest, and so the discourse ended.

The next day the lord Cottington resumed it again, and told him that he was not only in very good earnest in his former discourse, but that it was not sudden, nor without very serious deliberation. He said he might be thought principally to consider himself, that he might have the comfort of a friend whom he loved so well; but he assured him that did not prevail with him, but purely the consideration of the king's service, with a due regard to the person of the chancellor, who he thought ought to be pleased with the employment. That himself was old, and not fit to be relied on alone, in an affair of that weight; he might probably die upon the way, or shortly after his coming thither, and thus the whole affair, how hopeful soever, must miscarry; whereas if he were with him, the business would proceed upon all events, and he would have no occasion to repent the experience of such a negociation and the knowledge of such a court, when he could not spend his time more pleasantly or more profitably: that he would take no great pleasure in France, nor find much grace with the queen; and if the king delayed his journey for Ireland so long as he was like to do, if he would be advised by his mother, they might make their journey into Spain, and with so good success, that the chancellor might embark in a convenient port from Spain, and arrive in Ireland as soon as the king, with those advantages of arms, ammunition, and other supplies, as would make him very welcome. These conferences continued for some days between themselves, when they were alone, and when they came tired from other consultations. The chancellor was weary of the company he was in, and the business, which, having no prospect but towards despair, was yet rendered more grievous by the continual contentions and animosities between persons. He knew he was not in the queen's favour at all,[1] and should find no respect in that court. However, he was very scrupulous, that the king might not suspect that he was weary of his attendance, or that any body else might believe that he withdrew himself from waiting longer upon so desperate a fortune. In the end, he told the lord Cottington, "that he would only be passive in the point, and refer it entirely to him, if he thought fit to dispose the king to like it, by all the arguments he could use; and if the king approved it so much as to take notice of it to the chancellor, and commend it as a thing he thought for his service, he would submit to his command, and very cheerfully accompany him through the employment;" with which Cottington was very well pleased, taking upon him what concerned the king.

The lord Cottington's heart was much set upon this employment, and he knew well, that if it took air before the king was well prepared and resolved, it would be much opposed as to the chancellor's part; because many who did not love him, yet thought his presence about the king to be of some use, therefore would do all they could to divert his going: and therefore he managed it so warily with the king, and presented the whole scheme to him so dexterously, that his majesty was much pleased with it, and approved it, and spake of it to the chancellor as a business he liked, and promised himself much good from it, and therefore persuaded him to undertake it cheerfully. Whereupon the chancellor desired him to think well of it, for he was confident many would dissuade his majesty from employing him that way; therefore he only besought him, that when he was so far resolved upon it as to publish it, he would not be afterwards prevailed with to change his purpose; which the king said he would not do; and shortly after declared his resolution publicly to send the lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer his ambassadors extraordinary into Spain, and commanded them to prepare their own commission and instructions, and to begin their journey as soon as was possible. This was no sooner known, than all kinds of people, who agreed in nothing else, murmured and complained of this counsel, and the more, because it had never been mentioned or debated in council. Only the Scots were very glad of it, (Mountrose excepted,) believing that when the chancellor was gone, their beloved covenant would not be so irreverently mentioned, and that the king would be wrought upon to withdraw all countenance and favour from the marquis of Mountrose: and the marquis himself looked upon it as a deserting him, and complying with the other party; and from that time, though they lived with civility towards each other, he withdrew very much of his confidence, which he had formerly reposed in him. They who loved him were sorry for him and themselves; they thought he deserted a path he had long trod, and was well acquainted with, and was henceforward to move *extra sphæram activitatis*, in an office he had not been acquainted with; and then they should want his credit to support and confirm them in the king's favour and grace. And there were many who were very sorry when they heard it, out of particular duty to the king, who being young, they thought might be without that counsel and advertisements which they knew well he would still administer to him. No man was more angry and offended with the counsel than the lord Colepepper, who would have been very glad to have gone himself in the employment, if he could have persuaded the lord Cottington to have accepted his company, which he could by no means do; and though he and the chancellor were not thought to have the greatest kindness for each other, yet he knew he could agree with no other man so well in business, and was very unwilling he should be from the person of the king. But the chancellor himself, from the time that the king had signified his own pleasure to him, was exceedingly pleased with the commission, and did believe that he should in some degree improve his understanding and very much refresh his spirits, by what he should learn by the one, and by his absence from being continually conversant with those wants which could never be severed from that court, and that company which would be always corrupted by those wants. And so he sent for his wife and children to meet him at Antwerp, where he intended they should reside whilst he continued in Spain, and where they were like to find some civilities, in respect of his employment. Before the king could begin his own journey for France, and so to Ireland, and before his ambassadors for Spain could begin theirs, his majesty thought it necessary, upon the whole prospect of his affairs with reference to all places, to put his business into as good a method as he could, and to dispose of that number of officers, and soldiers, and other persons, who had presented themselves to be applied to his service, or to leave them to take the best course they could for their own subsistence. Of these, many were sent into Ireland with the ships which carried the king's goods, with recommendation to the marquis of Ormond, "to put them into his army till the king came thither." Since the Scots were no better disposed to serve, or receive the king for the present, his majesty was resolved to give the marquis of Mountrose all the encouragement he desired to visit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

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[1] This was the greatest as well as the most deserved compliment he could pay to himself.—W.

There was then at the Hague Cornificius Wolfelte, ambassador extraordinary from the king of Denmark to the States General; who came with a great train and great state, and was himself a man of vanity and ostentation, and took pains to be thought so great a man in his own interest, that he did not enough extol the power of his master; which proved his ruin after his return. He had left Denmark before the news came thither of the murder of the king, and so he had no credentials for his majesty, by reason whereof he could not receive any public formal audience; but desired "the king's leave that he might, as by accident, be admitted to speak to him at the queen of Bohemia's court;" where his majesty used to be every day; and there the ambassador often spoke to him. The marquis of Mountrose had found means to endear himself much to this ambassador, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in Denmark, if the king would send him thither, and that he might obtain arms and ammunition there for Scotland. The ambassador told him, "that, if the king would write a letter to him to that purpose, he would presently supply him with some money and arms, in assurance that his master would very well approve of what he should do." The marquis of Mountrose well knew that the king was not able to supply him with the least proportion of money to begin his journey; and therefore he had only proposed, "that the king would give him several letters, in the form he prescribed, to several princes in Germany, whose affections he pretended to know;" which letters he sent by several officers, who were to bring the soldiers or arms they should obtain, to a rendezvous he appointed near Hamburg; and resolved himself to go into Sweden and Denmark, in hope to get supplies in both those places, both from the crowns, and by the contribution of many Scottish officers, who had command and estates in those countries; and so to have credentials, by virtue of which he might appear ambassador extraordinary from the king, if he should find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negociate his business in private, and without any public character. All this was resolved before his confidence, at least his familiarity, with the ambassador was grown less. But, upon the encouragement he had from him, he moved the king "for his letter to the ambassador, to assist the marquis of Mountrose with his advice, and with his interest in Denmark, and in any other court, to the end that he might obtain the loan of monies, arms, and ammunition, and whatever else was necessary to enable the marquis to prosecute his intended descent into Scotland." The king, who was exceedingly tired with his importunities, glad that he did not press for ready money, which he was not able to supply him with, gave him such letters as he desired to all persons, and particularly to the ambassador himself, who, having order from his master to present the king with a sum of money for his present occasions, never informed the king thereof, but advised Mountrose to procure such a letter from his majesty to him; which being done, the marquis received that money from him, and likewise some arms; with which he begun his unfortunate enterprise; and prosecuted his journey to Hamburg; where he expected to meet his German troops, which he believed the officers he had sent thither with the king's letters would be well able to raise, with the assistance of those princes to whom they had been sent. But he was carried on by a stronger assurance he had received from some prophecies and predictions, to which he was naturally given, " that he should by his valour recover Scotland for the king, and from thence conduct an army that should settle his majesty in all his other dominions."

There had been yet nothing done with reference to England since the murder of the king; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was so terrible a consternation, that still possessed the spirits of that people, that though men's affections were greater, and more general for the king, out of the horror and detestation they had of the late parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken courage; nor was it believed possible for any man to contribute any thing, at present, for their deliverance. However, most men were of opinion, " that it was necessary for the king to publish some declaration, that he might not seem utterly to give over his claim there; and to keep up the spirits of his friends." And many from England, who in the midst of their despair would give some counsel, advised, " that there might be somewhat published by the king that might give some check to the general submitting to the engagement, which was so universally pressed there." The king being every day advertised, how much this was desired and expected, and the Scottish lords being of the same opinion, hoping that somewhat might be inserted in it that might favour the presbyterians, his majesty proposed at the council, " that there might be some draught prepared of a proclamation, or declaration, only with reference to the kingdom of England;" and the chancellor of the exchequer, who had been most conversant in instruments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, " that he did not know what such a declaration could contain, and therefore that he thought it not seasonable to publish any." The prince of Orange was present at that council, and, whether from his own opinion, or from the suggestion of the Scottish lords, who were much favoured by him, he wished, " that, in regard of the great differences which were in England about matters of religion, the king would offer, in this declaration, to refer all matters in controversy concerning religion to a national synod; in which there should be admitted some foreign divines from the protestant churches;" which, he thought, would be a popular clause, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the king believed no objection could be made against it; and so thought fit such a clause should be inserted.

Within a short time after the council was parted, the prince of Orange sent for the lord Cottington, and told him, "he was not enough acquainted with the chancellor of the exchequer, but desired him to entreat him not to be too sharp in this declaration, the end whereof was to unite and reconcile different humours; and that he found many had a great apprehension, that the sharpness of his style would irritate them much more." The chancellor knew well enough that this came from the lord Lautherdale, and he wished heartily that the charge might be committed to any body else, protesting, "that he was never less disposed in his own conceptions and reflections to undertake any such task in his life; and that he could not imagine how it was possible for the king to publish a declaration at that time, (his first declaration,) without much sharpness against the murderers of his father;" which nobody could speak against; nor could he be excused from the work imposed upon him: and the prince of Orange assured him, "it was not that kind of sharpness which he wished should be declined:" and though he seemed not willing further to explain himself, it was evident that he wished that there might not be any sharpness against the presbyterians, for which there was at that time no occasion.

There was one particular, which, without a full and particular instruction, the chancellor could not presume to express. The great end of this declaration was to confirm the affection of as many as was possible for the king, and, consequently, as few were to be made desperate as might consist with the king's honour, and necessary justice; so that how far that clause, which was essential to a declaration upon this subject, concerning the indemnity of persons, should extend, was the question. And in this there was difference of opinions; the most prevalent was, "that no persons should be excepted from pardon, but only such who had an immediate hand in the execrable murder of the king, by being his judges, and pronouncing that sentence, and they who performed the execution." Others said, they "knew that some were in the list of the judges, and named by the parliament, who found excuses to be absent;" and others, that "some who were not named, more contrived and contributed to that odious proceeding, than many who were actors in it." But the resolution was, that the former should be only comprehended.

When the declaration was prepared, and read at the board, there was a deep silence, no man speaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for the second reading it, against which time every man might be better prepared to speak to it: and in the mean time the prince of Orange, in regard he was not a perfect master of the English tongue, desired he might have a copy of it, that he might the better understand it. And the chancellor of the exchequer desired, "that not only the prince of Orange might have a copy, but that his majesty would likewise have one, and, after he should have perused it himself, he would shew it to any other, who he thought was fit to advise with;" there being many lords and other persons of quality about him, who were not of the council: and he moved, "that he might have liberty himself to communicate it to some who were like to make a judgment, how far any thing of that nature was like to be acceptable, and agreeable to the minds of the people;" and named Herbert the attorney general, and Dr. Steward, who was dean of the chapel to the king; and whose opinion, in all things relating to the church, the king had been advised by his father to submit to. All which was approved by the king; and, for that reason, a further day was appointed for the second reading. The issue was, that, except two or three of the council, who were of one and the same opinion of the whole, there were not two persons who were admitted to the perusal of it, who did not take some exception to it, though scarce two made the same exception.

Doctor Steward, though a man of a very good understanding, was so exceedingly grieved at the clause of admitting foreign divines into a synod that was to consult upon the church of England, that he could not be satisfied by any arguments that could be given of "the impossibility of any effect, or that the parliament would accept the overture; and that there could be no danger if it did, because the number of those foreign divines must be still limited by the king;" but came one morning to the chancellor, with whom he had a friendship, and protested "he had not slept that night, out of the agony and trouble, that he, who he knew loved the church so well, should consent to a clause so much against the honour of it;" and went from him to the king, to beseech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion, "that there were too few excepted from pardon; by which the king would not have confiscations enough to satisfy and reward his party:" and others thought, "that there were too many excepted; and that it was not prudent to make so many men desperate; but that it would be sufficient to except Cromwell, and Bradshaw, and three or four more of those whose malice was most notorious; the whole number not to exceed six."

The Scots did not value the clause for foreign divines, who, they knew, could persuade little in an English synod; but they were implacably offended, that the king mentioned the government of the church of England, and the Book of Common Prayer, with so much reverence and devotion; which was the sharpness they most feared of the chancellor's style, when they thought now the covenant to be necessary to be insisted upon more than ever. So that, when the declaration was read at the board the second time, most men being moved with the discourses, and fears which were expressed abroad of some ill effects it might produce, it was more faintly debated, and men seemed not to think that the publishing any, at this time, was of so much importance, as they formerly had conceived it to be. By all which men may judge, how hard a thing it was for the king to resolve, and act with that steadiness and resolution, which the most unprosperous condition doth more require than the state that is less perplexed and entangled. The declaration slept without further proposition to emit any.

All things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two ambassadors for Spain were very solicitous to begin their journey, the king being at last resolved not to give his mother the trouble of making a journey to meet him, but to go himself directly to St. Germain's, where her majesty was. The prince of Orange, to advance that resolution, had promised to supply the king with twenty thousand pounds; which was too great a loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the king to discharge the debts he and his family had contracted at the Hague, and to make his journey. Out of this sum the lord Cottington and the chancellor were to receive so much as was designed to defray their journey to Paris: what was necessary for the discharge of their embassy, or for making their journey from Paris, was not yet provided. The king had some hope, that the duke of Lorrain would lend him some money; which he designed for this service; which made it necessary that they should immediately resort to Brussels, to finish that negociation, and from thence to prosecute their journey.

In the soliciting their first despatch at the Hague, they made a discovery that seemed very strange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their journey having been put off some days, only for the receipt of that small sum, which was to be paid out of the money to be lent by the prince of Orange, and Hemflet, the prince's chief officer in such affairs of money, had been some days at Amsterdam to negociate that loan, and no money was returned, they believed that there was some affected delay; and so went to the prince of Orange, who had advised, and was well pleased with that embassy, to know when that money would be ready for the king, that he might likewise resolve upon the time for his own journey. The prince told them, he believed, "that they, who knew London so well, and had heard so much discourse of the wealth of Holland, would wonder very much that he should have been endeavouring above ten days to borrow twenty thousand pounds; and that the richest men in Amsterdam had promised him to supply him with it, and that one half of it was not yet provided." He said, "it was not that there was any question of his credit, which was very good; and that the security he gave was as good as any body desired, and upon which he could have double the sum in less time, if he would receive it in paper, which was the course of that country; where bargains being made for one hundred thousand pounds to be paid within ten days, it was never known that twenty thousand pounds was paid together in one town; but by bills upon Rotterdam, Harlem, the Hague, and Antwerp, and other places, which was as convenient, or more, to all parties; and he did verily believe, that though Amsterdam could pay a million within a month, upon any good occasion, yet they would be troubled to bring twenty thousand pounds together into any one room; and that was the true reason, that the money was not yet brought to the Hague; which it should be within few days;" as it was accordingly.

They took their leave of the king at the Hague before the middle of May, and had a yacht from the prince of Orange, that expected them at Rotterdam, and transported them with great convenience to Antwerp, where the chancellor's wife and his family were arrived ten days before, and were settled in a good and convenient house; where the lord Cottington and he both lodged whilst they stayed in that city. There they met the lord Jermyn in his way towards the king, to hasten the king's journey into France, upon the queen's great importunity. He was very glad they were both come away from the king, and believed he should more easily prevail with his majesty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days stay at Antwerp, they went to Brussels to deliver their credentials both to the archduke and the duke of Lorrain, and to visit the Spanish ministers, and, upon their landing at Brussels, they took it for a very good omen, that they were assured, "that Le Brune, who had been one of the plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Munster, on the behalf of the king of Spain, was then in that town with credentials to visit the king, and to condole with him." They had an audience, the next day, of the archduke: they performed the compliments to him from the king, and informed him of their embassy into Spain, and desired his recommendation, and good offices in that court; which he, according to his slow and formal way of speaking, consented to: and they had no more to do with him, but received the visits from the officers, in his name, according to the style of that court. Their main business was with the duke of Lorrain, to procure money for their journey into Spain.

The duke was a prince that lived in a different manner from all other sovereign princes in the world: from the time, that he had been driven out of his country by France, he had retired to Brussels with his army, which he kept up very strong, and served the king of Spain with it against the French, upon such terms and conditions as were made, and renewed every year between them; by which he received great sums of money yearly from the Spaniard, and was sure very rich in money. He always commanded a part in the field; his officers received no orders but from himself: he always agreed at the council of war what he should do, and his army was in truth the best part of the Spanish forces. In the town of Brussels he lived without any order, method, or state of a prince, except towards the Spaniards in his treaties, and being present in their councils, where he always kept his full dignity: otherwise, he lived in a jolly familiarity with the bourgeois and their wives, and feasted with them, but scarce kept a court, and no number of servants, or retinue. The house wherein he lived was a very ordinary one, and worse furnished; nor was he often there, or easy to be found; so that the ambassadors could not easily send to him for an audience. He received them in a lower room with great courtesy and familiarity; and visited them at their own lodging. He was a man of great wit, and presence of mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no man knew better how to act the prince. He loved his money very much; yet the lord Cottington's dexterity and address prevailed with him to lend the king two thousand pistoles; which was all that was in their view for defraying their embassy. But they hoped they should procure some supply in Spain, out of which their own necessary expenses must be provided for.

There were two Spaniards, by whom all the councils there were governed and conducted, and which the archduke himself could not control; the conde of Pignoranda (who was newly come from Munster, being the other plenipotentiary there; and stayed only at Brussels, in expectation of renewing the treaty again with France; but, whilst he stayed there, was in the highest trust in all the affairs) and the conde of Fuensaldagna, who was the governor of the arms, and commanded the army next under the archduke; which was a subordination very little inferior to the being general. They were both very able and expert men in business, and if they were not very wise men, that nation had none. The former was a man of the robe, of a great wit, and much experience, proud, and, if he had not been a little too pedantic, might very well be looked upon as a very extraordinary man, and was much improved by the excellent temper of Le Brune, (the other plenipotentiary,) who was indeed a wise man, and by seeming to defer in all things to Pignoranda, governed him. The conde of Fuensaldagna was of a much better temper, more industry, and more insinuation than Spaniards use to have: his greatest talent lay to business; yet he was the best general of that time to all other offices and purposes, than what were necessary in the hour of battle, when he was not so present and composed as at all other seasons.

Both these received the ambassadors with the usual civilities, and returned their visits at their own lodging, but seemed not pleased with their journey to Madrid, and spoke much of the necessities that crown was in, and its disability to assist the king; which the ambassadors imputed to the influence don Alonzo de Cardinas had upon them both; who remained still under the same character in England he had done for many years before. The same civilities were performed between Le Brune and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encouraged them to hope well from their negociation in Spain; acquainted them with his own instructions, "to give the king all assurance of the affection of his catholic majesty, and of his readiness to do any thing for him that was in his power." He said, "he only deferred his journey, because he heard that the king intended to spend some time at Breda; and he had rather attend him there, than at the Hague."

When the ambassadors had despatched all their business at Brussels, and received the money from the duke of Lorrain, they returned to Antwerp; where they were to negociate for the return of their monies to Madrid; which required very much wariness, the bills from thence using to find now more difficulties at Madrid, than they had done in former times.

What was imagined fell out. By the letters my lord Jermyn brought, and the importunity he used, the king resolved to begin his journey sooner than he thought to have done, that is, sooner than he thought he should have been able, all provisions being to begin to be made both for his journey into France, and from thence into Ireland, after the money was received that should pay for them. But the queen's impatience was so great to see his majesty, that the prince of Orange, and the princess royal his wife, were as impatient to give her that satisfaction. Though her majesty could not dislike any resolution the king had taken, nor could imagine whither he should go but into Ireland, she was exceedingly displeased that any resolution had been taken before she was consulted.[1] She was angry that the counsellors were chosen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in the affairs; all which she imputed principally to the chancellor of the exchequer: and yet she was not pleased with the design of the negociation in Spain. For though she had no confidence of his affection to her, or rather of his complying with all her commands, yet she had all confidence in his duty and integrity to the king, and therefore wished he should be still about his person, and trusted in his business; which she thought him much fitter for than such a negociation, which she believed, out of her natural prejudice to Spain, would produce no advantage to the king.

That the queen might receive some content, in knowing that the king had begun his journey, the prince of Orange desired him, "whilst his servants prepared what was necessary at the Hague, that himself, and that part of his train that was ready, would go to Breda, and stay there till the rest were ready to come up to him;" that being his best way to Flanders, through which he must pass into France. Breda was a town of the prince's own, where he had a handsome palace and castle, and a place where the king might have many divertisements. Hither the Spanish ambassador, Le Brune, came to attend his majesty, and delivered his master's compliments to his majesty, and offered his own services to him, whilst he should remain in those provinces; he being at that time designed to remain ambassador to the United Provinces; as he did; and died shortly after at the Hague, with a general regret. He was born a subject to the king of Spain, in that part of Burgundy that was under his dominion; and having been from his cradle always bred in business, and being a man of great parts and temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the best statesmen in Christendom, and who best understood the true interest of all the princes of Europe.

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[1] The purpose of the noble historian here, was to shew the reader, that the queen's ambition to govern her son was for the sake of governing: for here she is represented as displeased, not with the *resolution taken*, for this she approved of, but for its having been taken without her leave.—W.

As soon as the lord Cottington and the chancellor heard of the king's being at Breda, and that he intended to hasten his journey for France, they resolved, having in truth not yet negociated all things necessary for their journey, to stay till the king passed by, and not to go to St. Germain's till the first interview, and eclaircissements were passed between the king and queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what weather was like to be.

The king was received at Antwerp with great magnificence: he entered in a very rich coach with six horses, which the archduke sent a present to him when he came into the Spanish dominions: he was treated there, at the charge of the city, very splendidly for two days: and went then to Brussels, where he was lodged in the palace, and royally entertained. But the French army, under the command of the conte de Harcourt, was two days before set down before Cambray; with the news whereof the Spanish council was surprised, and in so much disorder, that the archduke was gone to the army to Mons, and Valenciennes, whilst the king was in Antwerp; so that the king was received only by his officers; who performed their parts very well.

Here the conde of Pignoranda waited upon the king in the quality of an ambassador, and covered. And his majesty stayed here three or four days, not being able suddenly to resolve which way he should pass into France. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the French thought to have surprised that town, and to have cast up their line of circumvallation before any supplies could be put in; but the conde Fuensaldagna found a way to put seven or eight hundred foot into the town; upon which the French raised the siege; and so the king made his journey by the usual way; and, near Valenciennes, had an interview with the archduke; and, after some short ceremonies, continued on his journey, and lodged at Cambray; where he was likewise treated by the conde de Garcies, who was governor there, and a very civil gentleman.

About a week after the king left Brussels, the chancellor took leave of his family, which he had not been conversant with before near the space of four years; and the lord Cottington and he having coaches, and all other things necessary for their journey, which expected them at Brussels, they went again together, and so prosecuted their journey for Paris; where they stayed only one day, and then went to St. Germain's; where the king and the queen his mother, with both their families, and the duke of York's, then were; by whom they were received graciously. They had no reason to repent their providence in staying so long behind the king, for they found the court so full of jealousy and disorder, that every body was glad that they were come. After the first two or three days that the king and queen had been together, which were spent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happened since their last parting, the queen begun to confer with the king of his business, and what course he meant to take; in which she found him so reserved, as if he had no mind she should be conversant in it. He made no apologies to her; which she expected; nor any professions of resigning himself up to her advice. On the contrary, upon some expostulations, he had told her plainly, "that he would always perform his duty towards her with great affection and exactness, but that in his business he would obey his own reason and judgment;" and did as good as desire her not to trouble herself in his affairs: and finding her passions strong, he frequently retired from her with some abruptness, and seemed not to desire to be so much in her company as she expected; and prescribed some rules to be observed in his own retirement, which he had not been accustomed to.

This kind of unexpected behaviour gave the queen much trouble. She begun to think, that this distance, which the king seemed to affect, was more than the chancellor of the exchequer could wish; and that there was somebody else, who did her more disservice: insomuch as to the ladies who were about her, whereof some were very much his friends, she seemed to wish, that the chancellor were come. There was a gentleman, who was newly come from England, and who came to the Hague after the chancellor had taken his leave of the king, and had been ever since very close about him, being one of the grooms of his bedchamber, one Mr. Thomas Elliot, a person spoken of before; whom the king's father had formerly sent into France, at the same time that he resolved the prince should go for the west; and for no other reason, but that he should not attend upon his son. And he had given order, "that if he should return out of France, and come into the west, the council should not suffer him to be about the prince;" with whom he thought he had too much credit, and would use it ill; and he had never seen the prince from the time he left Oxford till now. He was a bold man, and spoke all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late king which he ought to have had; and less for the queen; though he had great obligations to both; yet being not so great as he had a mind to, he looked upon them as none. This gentleman came to the king just as he left the Hague, and both as he was a new comer, and as one for whom his majesty had formerly much kindness, was very well received; and being one who would receive no injury from his modesty, made the favour the king shewed him as bright, and to shine as much in the eyes of all men, as was possible. He was never from the person of the king, and always whispering in his ear, taking upon him to understand the sense and opinion of all the loyal party in England: and when he had a mind that the king should think well, or ill, of any man, he told him, "that he was much beloved by, or very odious to, all his party in England." By these infusions, he had prevailed with him to look with less grace upon the earl of Bristol, who came from Caen (where he had hitherto resided) to kiss his hands, than his own good nature would have inclined him to; and more to discountenance the lord Digby, and to tell him plainly, "that he should not serve him in the place of secretary of state;" in which he had served his father, and from which men have seldom been removed upon the descent of the crown; and not to admit either father or son to be of his council; which was more extraordinary. He told the king, "it would be the most unpopular thing he could do, and which would lose him more hearts in England if he were thought to be governed by his mother." And in a month's time that he had been about the king, he begun already to be looked upon as very like to become the favourite. He had used the queen with wonderful neglect when she spoke to him, and had got so much interest with the king, that he had procured a promise from his majesty to make colonel Windham, whose daughter Mr. Elliot had married, secretary of state; an honest gentleman, but marvellously unequal to that province; towards which he could not pretend a better qualification, than that his wife had been nurse to the prince, who was now king.

In these kinds of humour and indisposition they found the court, when they came to St. Germain's. They had, during their stay at Paris, in their way to court, conferred with the earl of Bristol, and his son the lord Digby; who breathed out their griefs to them; and the lord Digby was the more troubled to find that Mr. Elliot, who was a known and declared enemy of his, had gotten so much credit with the king, as to be able to satisfy his own malice upon him, by the countenance of his majesty; in whom, he knew, the king his father desired, that he should of all men have the least interest. After they had been a day or two there, the chancellor of the exchequer thinking it his duty to say somewhat to the queen in particular, and knowing that she expected he should do so, and the king having told him at large all that had passed with his mother, and the ill humour she was in, (all which his majesty related in a more exalted dialect than he had been accustomed to,) and his majesty being very willing that he should clearly understand what the queen thought upon the whole, the chancellor asked a private audience; which her majesty readily granted. And after she had easily expostulated upon the old passages at Jersey, she concluded with the mention of the great confidence the king her husband had always reposed in him, and thereupon renewed her own gracious professions of good-will towards him. Then she complained, not without tears, of the king's unkindness towards her, and of his way of living with her, of some expressions he had used in discourse in her own presence, and of what he had said in other places, and of the great credit Mr. Elliot had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her majesty, and lastly of the incredible design of making Windham secretary; "who, besides his other unfitness," she said, "would be sure to join with the other to lessen the king's kindness to her all they could." The chancellor, after he had made all the professions of duty to her majesty which became him, and said what he really believed of the king's kindness and respect for her, asked her, "whether she would give him leave to take notice of any thing she had said to him, or, in general, that he found her majesty unsatisfied with his kindness?" The queen replied, "that she was well contented he should take notice of every thing she had said; and, above all, of his purpose to make Windham secretary:" of which the king had not made the least mention, though he had taken notice to him of most other things the queen had said to him.

The chancellor, shortly after, found an opportunity to inform the king of all that had passed from the queen, in such a method as might give him occasion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The king heard him very greedily, and protested, "that he desired nothing more than to live very well with the queen; towards whom he would never fail in his duty, as far as was consistent with his honour, and the good of his affairs; which, at present, it may be, required more reservation towards the queen, and to have it believed that he communicated less with her than he did, or than he intended to do; that, if he did not seem to be desirous of her company, it was only when she grieved him by some importunities, in which he could not satisfy her; and that her exception against Elliot was very unjust; and that he knew well the man to be very honest, and that he loved him well; and that the prejudice the king his father had against him was only by the malice of the lord Digby, who hated him without a cause, and had likewise informed the queen of some falsehoods, which had incensed her majesty against him;" and seemed throughout much concerned to justify Elliot, against whom the chancellor himself had no exceptions, but received more respects from him than he paid to most other men.

When the chancellor spoke of making Windham secretary, the king did not own the having promised to do it, but "that he intended to do it." The chancellor said, "he was glad he had not promised it; and that he hoped, he would never do it: that he was an honest gentleman, but in no degree qualified for that office." He put him in mind of secretary Nicholas, who was then there to present his duty to him; "that he was a person of such known affection and honesty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than to displace him." The king said, "he thought secretary Nicholas to be a very honest man; but he had no title to that office more than another man: that Mr. Windham had not any experience, but that it depended so much upon forms, that he would quickly be instructed in it: that he was a very honest man, for whom he had never done any thing, and had now nothing else to give him but this place; for which he doubted not but, in a short time, he would make himself very fit." All that the chancellor could prevail with his majesty was, to suspend the doing it for some time, and that he would hear him again upon the subject, before he took a final resolution. For the rest, he promised "to speak upon some particulars with the queen, and to live with her with all kindness and freedom, that she might be in good humour." But he heard her, and all others, very unwillingly, who spoke against Mr. Windham's parts for being secretary of state.

One day the lord Cottington, when the chancellor and some others were present, told the king very gravely, (according to his custom, who never smiled when he made others merry,) "that he had an humble suit to him, on the behalf of an old servant of his father's, and whom, he assured him upon his knowledge, his father loved as well as he did any man of that condition in England; and that he had been for many years one of his falconers; and he did really believe him to be one of the best falconers in England;" and thereupon enlarged himself (as he could do excellently in all the terms of that science) to shew how very skilful he was in that art. The king asked him, "what he would have him do for him?" Cottington told him, "it was very true that his majesty kept no falconers, and the poor man was grown old, and could not ride as he had used to do; but that he was a very honest man, and could read very well, and had as audible a voice as any man need to have;" and thererefore besought his majesty, "that he would make him his chaplain;" which speaking with so composed a countenance, and somewhat of earnestness, the king looked upon him with a smile to know what he meant; when he, with the same gravity, assured him, "the falconer was in all respects as fit to be his chaplain, as colonel Windham was to be secretary of state;" which so surprised the king, who had never spoken to him of the matter, all that were present being not able to abstain from laughing, that his majesty was somewhat out of countenance: and this being merrily told by some of the standers by, it grew to be a story in all companies, and did really divert the king from the purpose, and made the other so much ashamed of pretending to it, that there was no more discourse of it.

Whilst all endeavours were used to compose all ill humours here, that the king might prosecute his intended voyage for Ireland, and that the two ambassadors might proceed in their journey towards Spain, there came very ill news from Ireland. The marquis of Ormond, after all the promises of assistance made by the cardinal, had been compelled to transport himself without any supply of men, or arms, or money; which he would never have done, if the importunity from the lord Inchiquin, and the confederate catholics, and who could not agree without him, had not obliged him to it. They had agreed upon a cessation, which had driven the nuncio from thence; but they would not agree upon a peace, (without which they could not join together against the parliament,) until the lord lieutenant came thither, who had the only power to make it. Whereupon, with all the presages of ill fortune within himself, and about the time that the Scots army under duke Hamilton was defeated, he embarked himself, only with his own servants, and some officers, at Havre de Grace, and arrived safely at Cork in the province of Munster, where the lord Inchiquin delivered up the government to him, and was by him made lieutenant general of the army, which were all his own men, who had long served under him in the province of Munster, of which he was president, and with which he had reduced the Irish into those straits, that they were willing to unite with him on the king's behalf against the parliament forces, which possessed Dublin and the parts thereabouts. As soon as the marquis was arrived, as hath been said before, the confederate catholics, who held their assembly, as they had always done, at Kilkenny, sent commissioners to him to congratulate his arrival, and to enter upon a treaty of peace, that they might all return to their obedience to the king. But the inconstancy of that nation was such, that, notwithstanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themselves by their falling from their former peace, and notwithstanding that themselves had sent to Paris to importune the queen and the prince to send the marquis of Ormond back to them, with all promises and protestations that they would not insist upon any unreasonable concessions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of religion, and insisted upon other things, which if he should consent to, would have irreconciled all the English, who were under the lord Inchiquin, upon whom his principal confidence was placed: by this means so much time was spent, that the winter passed without any agreement; whereby they might have advanced against the parliament forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of supplies, whilst the distractions continued in England between the parliament and the army, the divisions in the army, and the prosecution of the king; during which the governors there had work enough to look to themselves; and left Ireland to provide for itself: and if that unfortunate people would have made use of the advantages that were offered, that kingdom might indeed have been entirely reduced to the king's obedience.

That the lord lieutenant might even compel them to preserve themselves, he went himself to Kilkenny, where the council sat, about Christmas, after three months had been spent from his arrival, that no more time might be lost in their commissioners' coming and going, and that the spring might not be lost as well as the winter. And at last a peace was made and concluded; by which, against such a day, the confederate catholics obliged themselves "to bring into the field a body of horse and foot, with all provisions for the field, which should be at the disposal of the lord lieutenant, and to march as he should appoint." The treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have reduced the whole nation to the same agreement. And the general assembly, to which they all pretended to submit, and from which all had received their commissions, as hath been said, sent to Owen O'Neile, who remained in Ulster with his army, and came not himself to Kilkenny, as he ought to have done, upon pretence of his indisposition of health. He professed "to submit to whatsoever the general assembly should determine:" but when they sent the articles, to which they had agreed, to be signed by him, he took several exceptions, especially in matters of religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and, in the end, positively declared, "that he would not submit, or be bound by them:" and at the same time he sent to the marquis of Ormond, "that he would treat with him apart, and not concern himself in what the assembly resolved upon."

The truth is, there was nothing of religion in this contention; which proceeded from the animosity between the two generals, O'Neile and Preston, and the bitter faction between the old Irish and the other, who were as much hated by the old, as the English were; and lastly, from the ambition of Owen O'Neile; who expected some concessions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incensed the other party, if they had been granted to him: so that the assembly was well pleased to leave him out, and concluded the peace without him.

Hereupon the lord lieutenant used all possible endeavours that the army might be formed, and ready to march in the beginning of the spring. And though there was not an appearance answerable to their promise, yet their troops seemed so good, and were so numerous, that he thought fit to march towards Dublin; and, in the way, to take all the castles and garrisons, which were possessed by the parliament: in which they had very good success. For many of the parliament soldiers having served the king, they took the first opportunity, upon the marquis of Ormond's approach within any distance, to come to him; and by that means several places surrendered likewise to him. Colonel Monk, who had formerly served the king, and remained for the space of three or four years prisoner in the Tower, had been at last prevailed with by the lord Lisle to serve the parliament against the Irish; pleasing himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the king. He was at this time governor of Dundalk, a garrison about thirty miles from Dublin; which was no sooner summoned (Tredagh and those at a nearer distance being taken) but he was compelled by his own soldiers to deliver it up; and if the officer, who commanded the party which summoned him, had not been his friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the king's service, his soldiers would have thrown him over the walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and most of that garrison betook themselves to the king's service.

Upon all these encouragements, before the troops were come up to make the army numerous enough, the marquis was persuaded to block up Dublin at a very little distance; having good reason to hope, from the smallness of the garrison, and a party of well affected people within the town, that it would in a short time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he used all the means he could to hasten the Irish troops, some whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raised, to come up to the army. By all their letters from London (with which, by the way of Dublin, and the ports of Munster, there was good intelligence) they understood, that there were fifteen hundred or two thousand men shipped for Ireland: and the wind having been for some time against their coming for Dublin, there was an apprehension that they might be gone for Munster: whereupon the lord Inchiquin, who was not confident of all his garrisons there, very unhappily departed with some troops of horse to look after his province; there being then no cause to apprehend any sally out of Dublin, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the wind coming fair, the ships expected came into the port of Dublin; and landed a greater number of soldiers, especially of horse, than was reported; and brought the news that Cromwell himself was made lieutenant of Ireland, and intended to be shortly there with a very great supply of horse and foot. This fleet that was already come had brought arms, and clothes, and money, and victuals; which much exalted the garrison and the city; which presently turned out of the town some of those who were suspected to wish well to the marquis of Ormond, and imprisoned others. The second day after the arrival of the succours, Jones, who had been a lawyer, and was then governor of Dublin, at noonday marched out of the city, with a body of three thousand foot, and three or four troops of horse, and fell upon that quarter which was next the town; where they found so little resistance that they adventured upon the next; and in short so disordered the whole army, one half whereof was on the other side the river, that the lord lieutenant, after he had, in the head of some officers whom he drew together, charged the enemy with the loss of many of those who followed him, was at last compelled to draw off the whole army, which, though the loss was not great, was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return again to their posts, till both the troops which he had were refreshed, and composed, and their numbers increased by the levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardness.

It may be remembered, that the general insurrections in the last year, the revolt of the navy, and the invasion of the Scots, encouraged and drawn in by the presbyterian party, had so disturbed and obstructed the counsels both in the parliament, and in the army, that nothing had been done in all that year towards the relief of Ireland, except the sending over the lord Lisle as lieutenant, with a commission that was determined at the end of so many months, and which had given so little relief to the English, that it only discovered more their weakness, and animosity towards each other, than obstructed the Irish in making their progress in all the parts of the kingdom; and the more confirmed the lord Inchiquin to pursue his resolutions of serving the king, and of receiving the marquis of Ormond, how meanly soever attended, and to unite with the Irish; the perfecting of which conjunction, with so general a success, brought so great reproach upon the parliament, with reference to the loss of Ireland, that the reproach and noise thereof was very great: so that Cromwell thought it high time, in his own person, to appear upon a stage of so great action. There had been always men enough to be spared out of the army to have been sent upon that expedition, when the other difficulties were at highest; but the conducting it then was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power should be superior, the presbyterian or the independent. And therefore the one had set up and designed Waller for that command, and Cromwell, against him and that party, had insisted, that it should be given to Lambert, the second man of the army, who was known to have as great a detestation of the presbyterian power, as he had of the prerogative of the crown: and the contests between the two factions, which of these should be sent, had spent a great part of the last year, and of their winter counsels. But now, when all the domestic differences were so composed by their successes in the field, and the bloody prosecution of their civil counsels, so that there could be little done to the disturbance of the peace of England, and when Waller's friends were so suppressed, that he was no more thought of, Cromwell began to think that the committing the whole government of Ireland, with such an army as was necessary to be sent thither, was too great a trust even for his beloved Lambert himself, and was to lessen his own power and authority, both in the army which was commanded by Fairfax, and in the other, that, being in Ireland, would, upon any occasion, have great influence upon the affairs of England. And therefore, whilst there appeared no other obstructions in the relief of Ireland (which was every day loudly called for) than the determining which of the two persons named for the command of it should take that charge, some of his friends, who were always ready upon such occasions, on a sudden proposed, as a good expedient to put an end to that debate, wherein two persons of great merit were concerned, and who might possibly think that it would be some prejudice for either of them to be preferred before the other, to nominate a third person, who might reasonably be preferred before them both, and thereupon named Cromwell, the lieutenant general, to conduct that expedition.

Cromwell himself was always absent when such overtures were to be made; and whoever had proposed Lambert, had proposed it as a thing most agreeable to Cromwell's desire; and therefore, when they heard Cromwell himself proposed for the service, and by those who they were sure intended him no affront, they immediately acquiesced in the proposition, and looked upon the change as a good expedient: on the other side, the presbyterian party was no less affected, and concluded that this was only a trick to defer the service, and that he never did intend to go thither in person; or that if he did, his absence from England would give them all the advantages they could wish, and that they should then recover entirely their general Fairfax to their party; who was already much broken in spirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declared some bitterness against the persons who had led him to it. And so in a moment both parties were agreed, and Oliver Cromwell elected and declared to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, with as ample and independent a commission, as could be prepared.

Cromwell, how surprised soever with this designation, appeared the next day in the house full of confusion and irresolution; which the natural temper and composure of his understanding could hardly avoid, when he least desired it; and therefore, when it was now to his purpose, he could act it to the life. And after much hesitation, and many expressions of " his own unworthiness, and disability to support so great a charge, and of the entire resignation of himself to their commands, and absolute dependence upon God's providence and blessing, from whom he had received many instances of his favour," he submitted to their good will and pleasure; and desired them, " that no more time might be lost in the preparations which were to be made for so great a work; for he did confess that kingdom to be reduced to so great straits, that he was willing to engage his own person in this expedition, for the difficulties which appeared in it; and more out of hope, with the hazard of his life, to give some obstruction to the successes which the rebels were at present exalted with," (for so he called the marquis of Ormond, and all who joined with him,) "that so the commonwealth might retain still some footing in that kingdom, till they might be able to send fresh supplies, than out of any expectation, that, with the strength he carried, he should be able, in any signal degree, to prevail over them."

It was an incredible expedition that he used from this minute after his assuming that charge, in the raising of money, providing of shipping, and drawing of forces together, for this enterprise. Before he could be ready himself to march, he sent three thousand foot and horse to Milford Haven, to be transported, as soon as they arrived there, to Dublin ; all things being ready there for their transportation ; which troops, by the contrary and adverse winds, were constrained to remain there for many days. And that caused the report in Ireland, by the intelligence from London, that Cromwell intended to make a descent in Munster ; which unhappily divided the lord Inchiquin, and a good body of his men, from the lord lieutenant, as hath been said, when he marched towards Dublin. Nor did the marquis of Ormond in truth at that time intend to have marched thither with that expedition, until his army should be grown more numerous, and more accustomed to discipline; but the wonderful successes of those troops, which were sent before, in the taking of Trim, Dundalk, and all the out-garrisons, and the invitation and intelligence he had from within Dublin, made him unwilling to lose any more time, since he was sure that the crossness of the wind only hindered the arrival of those supplies, which were designed thither out of England: and the arrival of which supplies, the very day before his coming before Dublin, enabled the governor thereof to make that sally which is mentioned before; and had that success which is mentioned.

The marquis of Ormond, at that time, drew off his whole army from Dublin to Tredagh, where he meant to remain till he could put it into such a posture, that he might prosecute his further design. And a full account of all these particulars met Cromwell at his arrival at Milford Haven, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of Dublin, and was in great perplexity to resolve what he was then to do. But all those clouds being dispersed, upon the news of the great success his party had that he had sent before, he deferred not to embark his whole army, and, with a very prosperous wind, arrived at Dublin within two or three days after the marquis of Ormond had retired from thence; where he was received with wonderful acclamation; which did not retard him from pursuing his active resolutions, to prosecute those advantages which had already befallen him. And the marquis of Ormond was no sooner advertised of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former resolution, and to draw his army to a greater distance, till those parties which were marching towards him from the several quarters of the kingdom might come up to him; and in the mean while to put Tredagh into so good a posture, as might entertain the enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And so he put into that place, which was looked upon, besides the strength of the situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the flower of his army, both of soldiers and officers, most of them English, to the number of three thousand foot, and two or three good troops of horse, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to sir Arthur Aston, who hath been often mentioned before, and was an officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of Cromwell, for at least a month's time. And the marquis of Ormond made less doubt, in much less time, to relieve and succour it with his army; and so retired to those parts where he had appointed a rendezvous for his new levies.

This news coming to St. Germain's broke all their measures, at least as to the expedition: the resolution continued for Ireland; but it was thought fit that they should expect another account from thence, before the king begun his journey; nor did it seem counsellable that his majesty should venture to sea whilst the parliament fleet commanded the ocean, and were then about the coast of Ireland; but that he should expect the autumn, when the season of the year would call home or disperse the ships. But where to stay so long was the question; for it was now the month of August; and as the king had received no kind of civility from

France, since his last coming, so it was notorious enough that his absence was impatiently desired by that court; and the queen, who found herself disappointed of that dominion which she had expected, resolved to merit from the cardinal by freeing him from a guest that was so unwelcome to them, though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and so was not at all solicitous for his longer stay. So his majesty considered how he should make his departure; and, upon looking round, he resolved, that he would make his journey through Normandy, and embark himself for his island of Jersey; which still continued under his obedience, and under the government of sir George Carteret; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the lieutenant of the lord Jermyn; who, in those straits the king was in, and the great plenty he himself enjoyed,[1] was wonderfully jealous that the king's being there would lessen some of the profit, which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the king's support, whilst he should stay there, necessary to sell some of the king's demesnes in that island, the yearly rent whereof used to be received by that lord towards the discharge of the garrisons there, he insisted, with all possible importunity, "that some of the money, which should be raised upon that sale, should be paid to him, because his receipt, for the time to come, would not remain so great as it had been formerly:" and though this demand appeared so unjust and unreasonable, that the council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the king in private, to give him such a note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good sum of money, after the return of his majesty into England, upon that consideration. This resolution being taken for Jersey, the king sent to the prince of Orange, "that he would cause two ships of war to ride in the road before St. Maloes," (which they might do without notice,) "and that he might have a warrant remain in his hands, by which the ships might attend his majesty, when he should require them;" which they might do in very few hours; and in these he meant to transport himself, as soon as it should be seasonable, into Ireland. These ships did wait his pleasure there accordingly.

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[1] He was kept by the queen.—W.

France had too good an excuse at this time for not giving the king any assistance in money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own affairs were in. Though the sedition, which had been raised in Paris the last winter, was at present so much appeased by the courage and conduct of the prince of Condé, (who brought the army, which he commanded in Flanders, with so great expedition before Paris, that the city yielded to reason,) so that his most Christian majesty, the queen his mother, and the whole court, were at this present there; yet the wound was far from being closed up. The town continued still in ill humour; more of the great men adhered to them than had done before; the animosities against the cardinal increased, and, which made those animosities the more terrible, the prince of Condé, who surely had merited very much, either unsatisfied, or not to be satisfied, broke his friendship with the cardinal, and spoke with much bitterness against him: so that the court was far from being in that tranquillity, as to concern itself much for the king our master, if it had been otherwise well inclined to it.

All things standing thus, about the middle of September, the king left St. Germain's, and begun his journey towards Jersey; and the queen, the next day, removed from thence to Paris, to the Louvre. The two ambassadors for Spain waited upon her majesty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themselves for their journey to Spain, where they longed to be, and whither they had sent for a pass to meet them at St. Sebastian's, and that they might have a house provided for them at Madrid, against the time they should come thither: both which they recommended to an English gentleman, who lived there, to solicit, and advertise them in their journey of the temper of that court.*

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* During the time of their short stay at Paris, the queen used the chancellor very graciously, but still expressed trouble that he was sent in that embassy, which she said would be fruitless, as to any advantage the king would receive from it; and she said, she must confess, that though she was not confident of his affection and kindness towards her, yet she believed that he did wish that the king's carriage towards her should be fair and respectful; and that she did desire that he might be always about his majesty's person; not only because she thought he understood the business of

They thought it convenient, since they were to desire a pass to go from Paris into Spain, that they should wait upon the queen-mother of France, and the cardinal; and likewise upon the duke of Orleans, and the prince of Condé; who were then in a cabal against the court. The prince of Condé spoke so publicly and so warmly against the cardinal, that most people thought the cardinal undone; and he himself apprehended some attempt upon his person; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his house, and admitted few to come to him, and had a strong guard in every room; so that his fear was not dissembled.

In this so general disorder, the ambassadors declined any formal audiences; for which their equipage was not suitable: so the lord Cottington went privately to the queen regent, who received him graciously, and desired him "to recommend her very kindly to her brother the king of Spain," without enlarging upon any thing else. From her he went to the duke of Orleans, whom he found in more disorder; and when the ambassador told him, "he came to know whether he had any service to command him into Spain," the duke, who scarce stood still whilst he was speaking, answered aloud, "that he had nothing to do with Spain;" and so went hastily into another room; and the

England better than any body else, but because she knew that he loved the king, and would always give him good counsel towards his living virtuously; and that she thought he had more credit with him than any other who would deal plainly and honestly with him. There was a passage at that time, of which he used to speak often, and looked upon as a great honour to him. The queen one day, amongst some of her ladies, in whom she had most confidence, expressed some sharpness towards a lord of the king's council, whom she named not, who she said always gave her the fairest words, and promised her every thing she desired, and had persuaded her to affect somewhat that she had before no mind to; and yet she was well assured, that when the same was proposed to the king on her behalf, he was the only man who dissuaded the king from granting it. Some of the ladies seemed to have the curiosity to know who it was, which the queen would not tell. One of them, who was known to have a friendship for him, said, she hoped it was not the chancellor. To which her majesty replied with some quickness, that she might be sure it was not he; who was so far from making promises, or giving fair words, or flattering her, that she did verily believe, that if he thought her to be a whore, he would tell her of it; which, when that lady told him, he was not displeased with the testimony. *See Clarendon's Life, part* 5.

lord Cottington then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the prince of Condé, and to the cardinal. But when they sent to the prince, he wisely, but with great civility, sent them word, "that they could not be ignorant of the disorder that court was in, and of the jealousies which were of him;" and therefore desired them "to excuse him, that he did not see them."

The cardinal appointed them an hour; and met them in an outer room, and conducted them into his inward room, where they sat down and conferred about half an hour, the lord Cottington speaking Spanish, and the cardinal and he conferring wholly in the same language. The cardinal acknowledged the apprehension he was in, in his looks; and took occasion in his discourse to mention "the unjust displeasure, which monsieur le prince had conceived against him." He seemed earnestly to desire a peace between the two crowns; and said, "that he would give a pound of his blood to obtain it;" and desired the ambassadors "to tell don Lewis de Haro from him, that he would with all his heart meet him upon the frontiers; and that he was confident, if they two were together but three hours, they should compose all differences:" which message he afterwards disavowed, when don Lewis accepted the motion, and was willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the stairs in disorder enough, his guards being very circumspect, and suffering no stranger to approach any of the rooms.

When they had provided all things for their journey, and contracted with Blavett, the sole person who could furnish coaches for the transportation of themselves, their baggage, and family, which consisted of twenty persons, and no more, to the Rayo of Spain, within twenty days, for which they paid him in hand, before they left Paris, four hundred pistoles, their whole share of their journey to that place being to be defrayed, as it was very handsomely, they began their journey from Paris upon Michaelmas day, and continued it, without resting one day, till they came to Bourdeaux; which was then in rebellion against the king. The city and the parliament had not only sent several complaints and bitter invectives against the duke of Espernon, their governor, for his acts of tyranny in his government, but had presumed, in order to make his person the more ungracious, to asperse his life and manners with those reproaches which they believed would most reflect upon the court. And the truth is, their greatest quarrel against him was, that he was a fast friend to the cardinal, and would not be divided from his interest. They had driven the duke out of the town, and did not only desire the king, "that he might no more be their governor ; but that his majesty would give the government to the prince of Condé ;" which made their complaints the less considered as just. And it was then one of the most avowed exceptions that prince had against the cardinal, that he had not that government upon the petition of Bourdeaux, since he offered to resign his of Burgundy, which was held to be of as much value, to accommodate and repair the duke of Espernon. At Blay, the ambassadors were visited by the marshal of Plessy Praslin, who was sent by the court to treat with the parliament of Bourdeaux, but could bring them to no reason, they positively insisting upon the remove of their old governor, and conferring the command upon the prince. The marshal, who had then no old look, told them, it was full forty years since he was first made captain of a foot company in Flanders, and he was alive above twenty years after this discourse. When they came to Bourdeaux they found the Chateau Trompette, which still held for the king, shooting at the town, the town having invested it very close, that no succour could be put into them, the duke of Espernon being at his house at Cadilliac, from whence his horse every day infested the citizens, when they stirred out of the town. Here the ambassadors were compelled to stay one whole day, the disorders upon the river, and in the town, not suffering their coaches and baggage to follow them so soon as they should have done. They were here visited by some counsellors and presidents of the parliament; who professed duty to the king, but irreconcileable hatred to the duke of Espernon ; against whom they had published several remonstrances in print, and dedicated them to the prince of Condé. After a day's rest there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continued their journey to Bayonne ; and were delivered, after they had broken their fast at St. Jean de Luce, upon the twentieth day from their leaving Paris, at the Raio; where they took boat, and in an hour or two they arrived at Girona; where they lay that night, and sent away to the governor of St. Sebastian's, that they would be there the next day. In their passage upon the river, they had the view of Fuentarabia, which had been so lately besieged by the prince of Condé, and the duke de la Valette, who was duke of Espernon; and they saw the ruins the French army had made in all the places adjacent, the greatest part of Girona itself having been burned, and still remaining unrepaired; and it was very manifest to them, by the discourses of all the people of that country, that so great a consternation had seized upon the hearts of all that people, upon the approach of the French army, that if it had advanced to St. Sebastian's, that important place was so ill provided to make resistance, that it would have been presently quitted to them, after which Fuentarabia had not been worth the contending for. Here they found an old priest, who governed the town, and was master of the posts, which office he had held when the lord Cottington had been last there, which was when the prince was in Spain, who was a jolly talking man, and glad to remember old stories. They were no sooner in their lodging, but the inquisitors came to examine what books they brought into their country; and at first, with some rudeness, the chief of them being a priest of a large size and a very barbarous aspect and behaviour, they urged to have the view of all the books they had, but afterwards were contented with a catalogue of the names of them, subscribed by one of their secretaries; and received a piece of eight very thankfully. The next day they went by the river to Passage, and when they came out of their boats, which were rowed by women, according to their privilege there, they found mules, sent from St. Sebastian's to carry them thither. About half a mile from the town they were met by the governor of Guipuscoa, don Antonio de Cardinas, an old soldier, and a knight of the order, the corregidor and all the magistrates of St. Sebastian's, and the English merchants which inhabited there; and were conducted by the governor to one of the best houses in the town, which was provided for their reception; where they no sooner were, than the governor, and the rest of the magistrates, took their leave of them, and left them to their repose.

They had not been half an hour in their lodging, conferring with the English merchants, about conveniences to prosecute their journey, when the corregidor came to them, and desired to speak with them in private, and after some compliment and apology, he shewed them a letter, which he had received from the secretary of state; the contents whereof were, "that when the ambassadors of the prince of Wales should arrive there, they should be received with all respect; but that he should find some means to persuade them to stay and remain there, till he should give the king notice of it, and receive his further pleasure." And at the same time an English merchant of the town, who had told them before, that he had letters from Madrid for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a packet from sir Benjamin Wright: who was entrusted by them at Madrid to solicit for their pass, and for a house to be prepared for them. In this letter their pass was enclosed, under the same style, as ambassadors from the prince of Wales; which he had observed, and desired to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any order for the providing a house for them; but was told, "that it should be done time enough." This was an unexpected mortification to them; but they seemed not to be troubled at it, as if they had intended to stay there a month, to refresh themselves after their long journey, and in expectation of other letters from the king their master. The corregidor offered to send away an express the same night, if they would write by him, or that he should stay a day or two for their letters, if they were not yet ready to write; but they desired that the messenger might be despatched away with all diligence, and they writ their letters presently. They writ to don Lewis de Haro, "that the king their master had sent them his ambassadors to his catholic majesty, upon affairs of the highest importance: that they were come so far on their way, but had, to their great wonder, met there with a signification of the king's pleasure, that they should stay and remain there, till they should receive his majesty's pleasure; which troubled them not so much, as to find themselves styled the ambassadors of the prince of Wales, which they thought very strange, after his catholic majesty had sent an ambassador to the king their master before they left him: they desired therefore to know, whether their persons were unacceptable to his catholic majesty, and if that were the case, they would immediately return to their master; otherwise, if his majesty were content to receive them, they desired they might be treated in that manner as was due to the honour and dignity of the king their master." And they writ to sir Benjamin Wright, "to attend don Lewis, and if he found that they were expected at Madrid, and that they reformed the errors they had committed, he should then send two letters to meet them at Victoria, and use those importunities, which were necessary for the providing a house for them against they should come."

Though the court was then full of business, being in daily expectation of their new queen; who was landed, and at that time within few days journey of Madrid; yet the very next day after the letter was delivered to don Lewis de Haro, he returned an answer full of civility, and imputed the error that was committed to the negligence or ignorance of the secretary; and sent them new passes in the proper style; and assured them, "that they should find a very good welcome from his majesty." And sir Benjamin Wright sent them word, "that he had received the warrant for the providing the house; and the officer, to whom it was directed, had called upon him to view two or three houses; and that don Lewis told him, that, as soon as he had found a house that pleased him, orders should be given to the king's officers of the wardrobe to furnish it; and then when the ambassadors came, there should be one of the king's coaches to attend them whilst they stayed." As soon as they received these advertisements, they made haste to begin their journey, choosing rather to make use of mules till they came to Vittoria, where they were sure to meet their letters, than to stay their coming to St. Sebastian's, of which they were heartily weary; either because they had been compelled to stay there near twenty days against their will, or that it be indeed a most unpleasant place to live in, and where there are no kinds of divertisements; and they were in great doubt that they should find a court very hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with so barefaced and formed an affront, and then so easily recede from it with weak apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wished that they had not come ;[1] and imagined that this might put them to return again, and then were ashamed of their own expedient, and being pressed, chose rather to decline than avow it : so unnatural a thing is it for that nation to stoop to any ugly action, without doing it so ungraciously, as to confess it in their own countenance, and quickly receding from it.

It was about the middle of November when they left St. Sebastian's, the weather yet continuing fair ; and a gentleman of quality of the country was appointed to accompany them out of the jurisdiction of Guipuscoa, which was to the city of Victoria ; and from thence they entered into Castile. When they came to Burgos the magistrates invited them to see the *toros*, which was performed the next day to celebrate the arrival of the queen, who was now come to Madrid, and all the country making their *fiestas.* They stayed that day to see that fight, which was new to all but the lord Cottington. The rains began to fall, which made their journey forward less pleasant, yet not with any great violence, as they seldom do in that country in the beginning. When they came to Alcavendas, a little town belonging to the conde de Prono en rostro, within three leagues of Madrid, they discharged all their mules and litters, resolving to stay there till they sent notice to the court of their arrival, and sir Benjamin Wright to know what house was provided for them : he came to them, and told them, "all things were in the same state they were when he writ to them to St. Sebastian's : that though don Lewis gave him very good words when he came to him, and seemed much troubled and angry with the officers that the house was not ready, and the officers excused themselves upon the jollities the town was in the *fiestas*, which were held every day for the queen's arrival, that nobody could attend any particular affair, yet it was evident there was not that care taken from the court that there ought to have been, and that don Alonzo de Cardinas from England had done the ambassadors all the ill offices possible, as if their good reception in Spain would incense the parliament, and make them more propitious to France, which valued itself upon having driven all the royal family from thence."

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[1] This is a fine compliment, and I believe a deserved one, to the ancient Spanish honour.—W.

Upon this new mortification, they writ again from thence to don Lewis, to desire, "that they might not be put to stay there for want of a house, and so be exposed to contempt." Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degree. He always answered their letters with great punctuality, and with courtesy enough, as if all things should be ready by the next day. The English merchants, who resided at Madrid, came every day to visit them, but still brought them word, that there was no appearance of any provision made to receive them; so that, after a week's stay in that little town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil offer and invitation which sir Benjamin Wright made them, of reposing themselves *incognito* in his house; which would only receive their persons with a valet de chambre for each; and the rest of their family was quartered in the next adjacent houses for the reception of strangers; and so they went privately in the evening into Madrid in sir Benjamin Wright's coach, having sent all their servants before, and came to his house, where they were very conveniently lodged, and where there were good rooms handsomely furnished for the reception of visitants: and if, by his generosity, they had not been thus accommodated, they must have been exposed to reproach and infamy, by the very little respect they received from the court. Sir Benjamin Wright was a gentleman of a good family in Essex; and being a younger brother, had been bred a merchant in Madrid; where, as a merchant, he had great business and great reputation, but was of a nature and spirit above that employment, and affected another and a higher, after he had lived there above twenty years, and was become a perfect Spaniard, not only in the language, but in the generous part of their nature and customs, affected horsemanship, and the use of his weapon, and excelled in both, and gave several testimonies of his courage upon particular encounters, most with his countrymen, who, in respect of his being a merchant, exercised some insolencies towards him. So that he accustomed himself to the outward *fausto* of a Spaniard abroad, and kept the custom and manner of his own country at home, by living plentifully and splendidly in his house, very contrary to the custom of that nation. He resolved to give over that profession of a merchant ; and having got a very plentiful estate by it, he entered into treaties with the ministers of state to supply the king's affairs upon such assiento's as were usually made, with providing ships, and supplying monies for those parts of Italy and Flanders where the public affairs required it ; an adventure that the merchants of Genoa were most conversant in, and wherein many had gotten very great estates, whilst the crown prospered, and made good its contracts ; and in his first entrance into that kind of commerce, he had performed some very acceptable services to that king, and got very well himself, according to which he always increased the expense and port of his living. He married into the family of Toledo, a young lady who brought little more than her noble blood into his house ; and he willingly took care that she should live in an expense equal to her birth. He had always performed great duty to his own king, and made himself still grateful to the English ambassadors, by his paying all respects to them, and behaving himself always for the honour of his nation ; and by the ambassador's interposition his own king made him a baronet ; the patent whereof no sooner came to his hands, than he entered it with the conseio de los ordines, and with much difficulty and contest he procured it to be registered ; and then was treated with the style of don in all places, which wiped out the memory of the merchant ; but in these contests, and the rhodomontadoes which accompanied them in the presents he made, and in the whole course and expense of his living, he stirred up the envy of the Spaniard, and lost the affection of his own countrymen, that is, of the merchants, for of all others he was well beloved.

About the year 1640, when the crown was very much declined in credit, and its necessities increased by the anticipation of all their revenues, they had no more security to give for any money they borrowed, but such as brought in nothing, till the present lease which had been granted should be expired ; so that to make such a security to be accepted, they were obliged to grant interest, and other too advantageous conditions; and by this temptation many were drawn in to venture their estates. The affairs of Flanders were in great distress, for supplying whereof sir Benjamin Wright, upon assurance from his friends in England and Flanders, that they would join with him, and assist him, made an assiento with the ministers, that he would presently pay so much money by the month in Flanders, upon such a branch of the revenue being assigned by the king to him for so many years, to begin three years after, when the lease that was on foot would be expired; so that he was to be out of his money near three years before he should receive any thing towards his reimbursement; but then he should enter upon a revenue which would abundantly satisfy him with principal and interest. He performed his part very punctually, expecting to enter at his time upon his assignation; and by this means, and by the same kinds of security, the necessities of that time had been provided for. When the expiration of the term drew near, by which the new assentistaes were to enter upon their several bargains, the necessities of the state appeared to be greater than before, by the unprosperousness of their affairs in all places; and there was now no possible way in view to provide for the future proportionable supplies. Hereupon the king did make a junto of divines, whereof his confessor was one, and other eminent prelates were some, who were to consider and certify the king, whether he might with a good conscience break his contract with those men, whose money he had received already, and make them satisfaction some other way, according as should be judged reasonable; whereby he might, by taking those farms into his own hands, upon which others ought to enter, be able to borrow and provide money to supply the crying necessities of the crown. This consultation was held without calling any of the parties concerned before them; but upon the information of the ministers of state of the public necessity, and the computation of the immoderate gain the assentistaes would receive, if they enjoyed their bargain, and had the benefit of all their covenants, the divines (not without great deliberation, and contests between themselves) gave it under their names, "That the king might with a good conscience resume those parts of his revenue, which he had granted to others, into his own hands, if he first gave satisfaction to those to whom such grants had been made." And when the king's conscience was thus satisfied, a decree was made, that all those persons (who were all named) to whom the king had granted such parts of his revenue, (which were likewise named,) and upon which they were to enter upon a day to come, should receive full satisfaction, and repayment of the monies they had advanced, with interest, upon the juros of the crown, which should be assigned and made over to them by a good form in the law; and that all other persons, who would advance monies for the king's service, upon those parts of his revenue which he took into his hands, should immediately enter into the receipt. The juros are of the nature of our tenures, or of our fee-farm rents, for they are not all of one kind nor of one value. So that men knew not how to treat for them; nor could be morally sure that the same might not be suddenly taken from them again, at least by a new king. However, many, who only looked for a competent revenue for their money, made tolerable bargains, and rested contented; but they who had laid out more money than their own, or who knew how to employ their money better, were undone by the overture, and utterly refused to receive them in satisfaction; but the decree left them no election, but determined both points positively, that they should not enjoy the benefit of their contracts, but that they should accept satisfaction by the juros. By these means poor sir Benjamin was reduced into great straits, when the king owed him very near two hundred thousand pounds sterling, according to the account then stated; and some friends of his, both in England and Flanders, were exceedingly damnified, and others utterly ruined by this decree. He himself, though fallen from his usual splendour, and his wife being likewise very seasonably dead, still enjoyed a good house, into which he received the ambassadors, kept good horses, and a coach with six mules; and retained so much of his natural generosity, that there appeared no want in the condition of his living; and he hoped and expected, by the interposition of the ambassadors, to receive some justice from the king in some extraordinary way.

The court well enough knew of their arrival, but took no notice of it. The lord Cottington therefore sent to don Lewis, to desire that he might have a private audience of him *incognito;* which he presently consented to, and appointed, the next morning, to meet in the king's garden; which was at such a distance from the court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: don Lewis was a man of little ceremony, and used no flourishes in his discourses, which made most men believe that he said all things from his heart; and he seemed to speak so cordially, that the lord Cottington, who was not easy to be imposed upon, did think that they should have a house very speedily, and that he had a good inclination to favour them in what they came about. He spoke, with more commotion than was natural to him, in the business of the murder of the king; excused all the omissions towards the ambassadors; "which should be repaired out of hand, after the few days, which yet remained to be spent in *fiestas* for the queen; during which time, he said, no officers would obey any orders which diverted them from the sight of the triumphs; and wished that the ambassadors would see the masquerade that afternoon, and the *toros* the day following."

The lord Cottington returned home very well satisfied; and had not been half an hour in the house, when a gentleman came from don Lewis to invite the ambassadors to see those exercises, which are mentioned before; and sent them word that there should be places provided for them. The chancellor went that afternoon to the place assigned, where he saw the masquerade and running of the course. That of the masquerade is an exercise they learned from the Moors, performed by squadrons of horse, seeming to charge each other with great fierceness, with bucklers in their left hands, and a kind of cane in their right; which, when they came within little more than a horse length, they throw with all the strength they can, and against them they defend themselves with very broad bucklers; and as soon as they have thrown their darts, they wheel about in a full gallop, till they can turn to receive the like assault from those whom they had charged; and so several squadrons of twenty or five and twenty horse run round and charge each other. It hath at first the appearance of a martial exercise; the horses are very beautiful, and well adorned, the men richly clad, and must be good horsemen, otherwise they could not obey the quick motion and turns of their horses. All the rest is too childish: the darts are nothing else but plain bulrushes of the biggest growth. After this they run the course; which is like our running at the ring, save that two men run still together, and the swifter hath the prize, a post dividing them at the end. From the start they run their horses full speed about fifty paces, and the judges are at that post to determine who is first at the end. There the king and don Lewis ran several courses, in all which don Lewis was too good a courtier to win any prize, though he always lost it by very little. The appearance of the people was very great, and the ladies in all the windows made a very rich show, otherwise the show itself had nothing wonderful. Here there happened to be some sudden sharp words between the admirante of Castile, a haughty young man, and the marquis de Liche, the eldest son of don Lewis de Haro; the which being taken notice of, they were both dismissed the squadrons wherein they were, and committed to their chambers. The next day, and so for two or three days together, both the ambassadors had a box prepared for them, to see the *toros;* which is a spectacle very wonderful, different from what they had seen at Burgos, where the bulls were much tamer, and where they were not charged by men on horseback, and little harm done.

Here the place was very noble, being the market-place, a very large square, built with handsome brick houses, which had all balconies, which were adorned with tapestry and very beautiful ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the first story, the lower rooms being shops, and for ordinary use; and in the division of those scaffolds, all the magistrates and officers of the town knew their places. The pavement of the place was all covered with gravel, (which in summer time was upon these occasions watered by carts charged with hogsheads of water.) As soon as the king comes, some officers clear the whole ground from the common people, so that there is no man seen upon the plain but two or three alguazils, magistrates with their small white wands. Then one of the four gates which leads into the streets is opened, at which the torreadors enter, all persons of quality richly clad, and upon the best horses of Spain, every one attended by eight or ten or more lackeys, all clinquant with gold and silver lace, who carry the spears, which their masters are to use against the bulls; and with this entry many of the common people break in, for which sometimes they pay very dear. The persons on horseback have all cloaks folded upon their left shoulder, the least disorder of which, much more the letting it fall, is a very great disgrace; and in that grave order they march to the place where the king sits, and after they have made their reverences, they place themselves at a good distance from one another, and expect the bull. The bulls are brought in the night before from the mountains by the people used to that work, who drive them into the town when nobody is in the streets, into a pen made for them, which hath a door, which opens into that large space; the key whereof is sent to the king, which the king, when he sees every thing ready, throws to an alguazil, who carries it to the officer that keeps the door, and he causes it to be opened, when a single bull is ready to come out. When the bull enters, the common people, who sit over the door or near it, strike him, or throw short darts with sharp points of steel, to provoke him to rage. He commonly runs with all his fury against the first man he sees on horseback, who watches him so carefully, and avoids him so dexterously, that when the spectators believe him to be even between the horns of the bull, he avoids by the quick turn of his horse, and with his lance strikes the bull upon a vein that runs through his pole, with which in a moment he falls down dead. But this fatal stroke can never be struck, but when the bull comes so near upon the turn of the horse, that his horn even touches the rider's leg, and so is at such a distance that he can shorten his lance, and use the full strength of his arm in the blow. And they who are the most skilful in the exercise do frequently kill the beast with such an exact stroke, insomuch as in a day two or three fall in that manner: but if they miss the vein, it only gives a wound that the more enrages him. Sometimes the bull runs with so much fierceness, (for if he escapes the first man, he runs upon the rest as they are in his way,) that he gores the horse with his horns, that his guts come out, and he falls before the rider can get from his back. Sometimes, by the strength of his neck, he raises horse and man from the ground, and throws both down, and then the greatest danger is another gore upon the ground. In any of these disgraces, or any other by which the rider comes to be dismounted, he is obliged in honour to take his revenge upon the bull by his sword, and upon his head, towards which the standers by assist him by running after the bull and hocking him, by which he falls upon his hinder legs; but before that execution can be done, a good bull hath his revenge upon many poor fellows. Sometimes he is so unruly that nobody dares to attack him, and then the king calls for his mastiffs, whereof two are let out at a time, and if they cannot master him, but are themselves killed, as frequently they are, the king then, as a last refuge, calls for the English mastiffs, of which they seldom turn above one at a time; and he rarely misses of taking the bull and holding him by the nose till the men run in; and after they have hocked him, they quickly kill him. In one of those days there were no fewer than sixteen horses, as good as any in Spain, the worst of which would that very morning have yielded three hundred pistoles, killed, and four or five men, besides many more of both hurt: and some men remain perpetually maimed: for after the horsemen have done as much as they can, they withdraw themselves, and then some accustomed nimble fellows, to whom money is thrown when they perform their feats with skill, stand to receive the bull, whereof the worst are reserved till the last: and it is a wonderful thing to see with what steadiness those fellows will stand a full career of the bull, and by a little quick motion upon one foot avoid him, and lay a hand upon his horn, as if he guided him from him; but then the next standers by, who have not the same activity, commonly pay for it, and there is no day without much mischief. It is a very barbarous exercise and triumph, in which so many men's lives are lost, and always ventured; but so rooted in the affections of that nation, that it is not in the king's power, they say, to suppress it, though, if he disliked it enough, he might forbear to be present at it. There are three festival days in the year, whereof midsummer is one, on which the people hold it to be their right to be treated with these spectacles, not only in great cities, where they are never disappointed, but in very ordinary towns, where there are places provided for it. Besides those ordinary annual days, upon any extraordinary accident of joy, as at this time for the arrival of the queen, upon the birth of the king's children, or any signal victory, these triumphs are repeated, which no ecclesiastical censures or authority can suppress or discountenance. For pope Pius the Fifth, in the time of Philip the Second, and very probably with his approbation, if not upon his desire, published a bull against the *toros* in Spain, which is still in force, in which he declared, that nobody should be capable of Christian burial who lost his life at those spectacles, and that every clergyman who should be present at them stood excommunicated *ipso facto;* and yet there is always one of the largest galleries assigned to the office of the inquisition and the chief of the clergy, which is always filled ; besides that many religious men in their habits get other places; only the Jesuits, out of their submission to the supreme authority of the pope, are never present there, but on those days do always appoint some such solemn exercise to be performed, that obliges their whole body to be together. (*See Life*, *part* v.)

There was another accident, upon one of these days, the mention whereof is not unfit to shew the discipline and severity of that nation in the observation of order. It was remembered, that at the last masquerade, the admirante and the marquis of Liche were sent to their chambers : and afterwards, the matter being examined, they were both commanded to leave the town, and retire each to a house of his own, that was within three or four leagues of the town. The marquis of Liche was known to have gone the next day, and nobody doubted the same of the admirante, those orders being never disputed or disobeyed. The king, going to the *toros*, either himself discerned at another balcony, or somebody else advertised him of it, that the duchess, who was wife to the admirante, was there ; and said, " he knew that lady was a woman of more honour than to come out of her house, and be present at the *fiesta*, whilst her husband was under restraint, and in the king's displeasure;" and therefore concluded that her husband was likewise there; and thereupon sent an alguazil to that room, with command to examine carefully with his eye, whether the admirante was there; for there appeared none but women. The admirante being a young rash man, much in the king's favour, and a gentleman of his bedchamber, thought he might undiscerned see the triumph of that day; and therefore caused himself to be dressed in the habit of a lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his wife to go with him; who exceedingly resisted his commands, well knowing to what reproach she exposed her own honour, though she had no fear of his being discovered. The alguazil brought the king word, that he was very sure that the admirante was there, in the habit of a woman, and sat next his wife among many other ladies. Whereupon the king sent the officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to his (the officer's) own house. And as soon as the king returned to the palace, there was an order that the alguazil should the next morning carry the admirante to Valladolid, four days journey from Madrid, where he had a house of his own; where he was confined not to go out of the limits of that city; and under this restraint he remained for the space of full three years: so penal a thing it is amongst that people, for any man, of how great quality soever, (there was not in Spain a man of greater than the admirante of Castile,) to disobey or elude the judgment of the king.

Though it is not the course for ambassadors to make their visits to those who come last, before they receive the first audience from the king, yet the very night they came to the town, the Venetian ambassador sent to congratulate their arrival, and to know what hour they would assign of the next day to receive a visit from him; to which they returned their acknowledgments, and that when they obtained their audience of the king, they would be ready to receive that honour from him. However, the very next day he came to visit them; and he was no sooner gone, but the German ambassador, not sending notice till he was at the bottom of the stairs, likewise came to them; and then the other ambassadors and public ministers took their times to make their visits, without attending the audience. There was one thing very notable, that all the foreign ministers residing then in Madrid (the English ambassadors and the resident of Denmark only excepted) were Italian, and, all but the Venetian, subjects of the great duke. Julio Rospigliosi, nuncio for the pope, was of Pistoja, and so subject to the duke of Florence, a grave man, and at that time, save that his health was not good, like to come to what he was afterwards, to be pope, as he was Clement the IXth. The emperor's ambassador, the marquis of Grana, was likewise an Italian, and a subject of Florence: he had been general of one of the emperor's armies, and was sent afterwards ambassador to Madrid. He was a man of great parts; and the removing the conde duke Olivarez from court was imputed to his artifice. He made the match between the king and the present queen, for which he expected to have the cap of a cardinal, and had received it, if he had not died before the following creation, the cardinal of Hesse being nominated by the emperor upon his death. He was a man of an imperious and insolent nature, and capable of any temptation, and nobody more glad of his death than his own servants, over whom he was a great tyrant. The ambassador of Venice a noble Venetian, was a man, as all that nation is, of great civility and much profession. He was the first who told the ambassadors that the king their master had a resident at Venice, which was Mr. Killigrew; which they did not at first believe, having, before they left St. Germain's, dissuaded the king from that purpose; but afterwards his majesty was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in that capacity he might borrow money of English merchants for his own subsistence, which he did, and nothing to the honour of his master, but was at last compelled to leave the republic for his vicious behaviour, of which the Venetian ambassador complained to the king, when he came afterwards to Paris.

The ambassador of the king of Poland was likewise a Florentine, who was much in favour with the king Vladislaus, from whom he was sent, and continued by king Casimir. He had lived in great splendour; but by his vicious course of life, and some miscarriages, he fell very low, and was revoked with some circumstances of dishonour. He was a man of a great wit, if it had not served him to very ill purposes.

The ambassador of Florence was a subject of his master, and an abbot, a grave man; and though he was frequently called ambassador, he was in truth but resident; which was discovered by a contest he had with the Denmark resident for place, who alleged that the other was no more than resident; which was true; and made the discovery that the Florentine sent no ambassadors to Madrid, because they are not suffered to cover, which they use to do in many other courts.

The archduke of Inspruck's minister was likewise a Florentine, and had been bred in Spain, and was a knight of the order, and supported the character upon a small assignation from his master, for some benefit and advantage it gave him in negociations and pretences he had in that court.

The resident of Denmark was don Henrique Williamson, (he was afterwards called Rosewell,) who came secretary to Hannibal Zested who had been the year before ambassador in that court, and lived in extraordinary splendour, as all the northern ministers do, who have not their allowance from the king, but from a revenue that is purposely set aside for that kind of service. When he went away, he left this gentleman to remain there as resident. He was a grave and a sober man, wiser than most of his nation, and lived with much more plenty, and with a better retinue, than any other minister of that rank in that court.

They had not been many days in Madrid, when don Lewis sent them the news of the imprisonment of the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville, and that marshal Turenne was fled into Flanders: so much had the cardinal improved his condition from the time that they had left Paris. There was yet no house provided for them, which they took very heavily, and believed that it might advance the business, if they had once a public reception as ambassadors, and therefore they resolved to demand an audience. Don Lewis came to be advertised, that the ambassadors had prepared mourning for themselves and all their train against the audience, which was true, for they thought it the most proper dress for them to appear in, and to demand assistance to revenge the murder of their master, it being yet within the year; but don Lewis sent to them, that he hoped that when the whole court was *in gala* upon the joy of the marriage of the king, and to give the queen a cheerful reception, they could not dishonour the festival by appearing *in lute*, which the king could not but take unkindly; which, he said, he thought fit to advertise them of, out of friendship, and without any authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an affair which seemed to have somewhat of reason of it, as out of apprehension that from hence they might take occasion to defer their audience, they changed their purpose, and caused new clothes to be made, and then sent to demand their audience; upon the subject whereof, and what followed of the negociation, the relation shall be continued. (*See Life*, *part* v.)

It may not be thought unnatural or impertinent to the work in hand to make this digression upon this embassy, and to enlarge upon many circumstances which occurred in it, and to make a short description of their reception in that court, of the formality and constitution of it, &c. of the nature and humour of that people, which seem foreign to the affairs of England. But since the king, after his leaving Paris, remained in Jersey for many months, waiting such a revolution as might administer an opportunity and occasion to him to quit that retirement, in all which time there was no action or counsel to be mentioned at present, and this being the first and the only embassy, in which his majesty's person was represented, until his blessed return into England, (for though some other persons were afterwards sent to other princes, with commissions to perform that function, if they found encouragement so to do, yet none assumed that character, nor were treated as such in any other court in Christendom, Spain only excepted,) it may therefore be reasonably thought a material part of this history even to give such a relation of this negociation, that it may appear what sense other kings and princes had of those revolutions in England, and of the miserable condition to which this young innocent prince was reduced, when it was fully pressed to them in the most efficacious terms possible, in which it was to be represented, and to which it was very hard to avoid giving some categorical answer; and every circumstance of their reception and treatment serves to illustrate those particulars; and therefore we shall proceed further in the relation thereof.

Before their audience, which they importuned for, and before they could procure any house to be assigned for their habitation, as that which would, as it did, accelerate the other, don Lewis de Haro sent them word of the imprisonment of the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville, and that marshal Turenne had made his escape into Flanders; the news whereof gave that court much trouble; for they had promised themselves a better harvest from that seed, which they had carefully and industriously sown, and that the cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would be totally suppressed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a peace, which was no less desired in France than in Spain; or that those princes, and all their dependents, would appear in arms in that kingdom; by which they should be able to recover much of what they had lost in Flanders; the hopes of either of which appeared now blasted by this unexpected and unfeared power of the cardinal.

Upon the day assigned for the audience, it being resolved that, when they had ended with the king, they should likewise have their audience with the queen, don Lewis de Haro sent horses to their lodging, for the accommodation of the ambassadors, and their servants: it being the fashion of that court, that the ambassadors ride to their first audience. And so they rode, being attended by all their own servants, and all the English merchants who lived in the town, together with many Irish officers who were in the service of his catholic majesty, all on horseback; so that their cavalcade appeared very fair, all the coaches of the ambassadors likewise following them. In this manner they came to the court about ten of the clock in the morning, being conducted by an officer, who had been sent to their lodging, and rode with them to the court.

Through several rooms, where there was only one officer, who attended to open and shut the doors, they came to the room next that where his majesty was; where, after a little stay, whilst their conductor went in and out, they found the king standing upright, with his back against the wall, and the grandees at a distance, in the same posture, against the wall. When they had made their several respects, and came to the king, he lightly moved his hat, and bid them cover. The lord Cottington spoke only general things, "of the confidence the king had in his majesty's kindness, and that he believed his condition such, as that all the kings of the world were concerned to vindicate the wrong he sustained: that this was the first embassy he had sent, relying more upon the honour of his majesty's nature and generosity, than upon any other prince;" with discourses of the same nature: then they presented their credentials.

The king expressed a very tender sense of the king's condition, and acknowledged "that it concerned all kings to join together for the punishment of such an impious rebellion and parricide; and if his own affairs would permit it, he would be the first that would undertake it; but that they could not but know how full his hands were; and whilst he had so powerful an adversary to contend with, he could hardly defend himself; but that when there should be a peace with France," (which he desired,) "the king, his sobrino," (for so he still called the king, his nephew,) "should find all he could expect from him; in the mean time he would be ready to do all that was in his power for him." They then said somewhat of themselves, of their respect to him, and their desire to render themselves as acceptable to his catholic majesty as they could. The king was observed to speak with much more grace upon that occasion to the chancellor than to the other; told him he had heard much of him, of his parts, and of his zeal for his master's service, for which he should be sure to have his favour always; saying very little of grace to the lord Cottington. After the formal part was over, the king asked many questions, most with reference to his sister, the queen of France; and discoursed very intelligently of every thing; so that his defects proceeded only from the laziness of his mind, not from any want of understanding; and he seemed then, when he was about eight and forty years of age, to have great vigour of body, having a clear ruddy complexion;

yet he had been accustomed to fevers from his debauches with women, by which he was much wasted.

From the king they were conducted to the queen; who used very few words, and spoke so low, that she could scarce be heard; she stood, in the same manner the king did, against a wall, and her ladies on both sides as the grandees did; the infanta at a little distance from her, to whom likewise they passed a compliment from their master. The queen was then about eighteen years of age, not tall, round faced, and inclined to be fat. The infanta was much lower, as she ought to be by her age, but of a very lovely complexion, without any help of art, which every one else in the room, the queen herself, was beholden to; and she was then the fullest of spirit and wit of any lady in Spain, which she had not improved afterwards, when she had more years upon her. Their audience ended, they returned, and in a few days after made all their visits, as well to don Lewis and to all the other counsellors as to the ambassadors; and at last they had a house provided for them in the Calle de Alcala, belonging to the marquis of Villa Magna, to whom the king paid four hundred pounds sterling by the year. A good house, wherein three grandees had lived; and yet, after it was put into their hands, they were compelled to defer their remove for at least a week, to devise a place where to make a kitchen, there being no chimney in the house, but in the garrets, and of those not one big enough to roast a joint of meat; but rather hearths, upon which several pipkins might be set together, according to the custom and manner of living there in the greatest families. So that there being a stable adjoining to the house, they were compelled to build a chimney and ovens there, which accommodated them well. All the rooms of reception and entertainment were well furnished out of the king's wardrobe, with tapestry hangings and chairs, which were changed upon the change of the season, with a cloth of state, and two very good beds for the ambassadors themselves; but they were put to hire all beds and other necessaries for the accommodation of their retinue and servants. The king's coach always waited upon them at their door. So that they began to be at much more ease, and looked more like ambassadors than they had done, and began to think of their negociation; and in regard that they had no servant who understood any thing of the court, to be sent up and down to demand audiences, and who understood what form and method was to be observed at home upon the reception of visits, and to advise the servants how they were to behave themselves on those occasions, they entertained Christopher Winnebank, a younger son of secretary Winnebank, to serve them. He had been bred at Magdalen college in Oxford, and sent from thence, when he was a young man, by his father, into Spain to understand that court under the countenance of the lord ambassador Hopton, who received him into his house as a friend for his father's sake; where he lived, made much of, till, according to the custom of his family, he fell in love with a woman, who deprived him of the conveniency he had of living in the ambassador's house, and brought him no other way of subsistence; so that his father's misfortune falling out about the same time, he was reduced to poverty, having only by change of his religion made himself the more capable of receiving obligation from the court, which, in regard of former good offices they had received from his father, promised him some pension, which they did not pay; so that this relation to the ambassadors was very welcome and convenient to him; and his service was useful to them, being a perfect Spaniard, and an honest man. Sir Benjamin's kindness was still very necessary to them; for as they had intrusted him to receive their money which was returned from Antwerp, so he issued it out to the major-domo as there was occasion, and contracted with the dispensers, and did many other good offices for them: which good intelligence continued between them during the time of their stay there.

It will not be unseasonable in this place to take a view of the state of that court at this time, and of the kingdom, that it may be the less wondered at, that an embassy, which had no other end than to procure relief and support for a distressed prince, had no better effect.

The council of state at this time consisted of don Lewis de Haro, the duke de Medina de los Torres, duke de Mounterey, marquis of Castille Roderigo, marquis de Vall-Periso, the Conde of Castrilio, and don Francisco de Melo; there were no more residing in that court then; the duke de Medina Celi residing constantly at his government of St. Lucar; the marquis of Leganez being general against Portugal, and so remained at Badajoz, and came seldom to Madrid; and the duke of Arcos stood confined to his house, since the defection of Naples when it was under his government; and the conde de Pignoranda not yet come out of Flanders.

Don Lewis was as absolute a favourite in the eyes of his master, had as entire a disposal of all his affections and faculties, as any favourite of that age; nor was any thing transacted at home or abroad, but by his direction and determination: and yet of all the favourites of that, or any other time, no man ever did so little alone, or seemed less to enjoy the delight and empire of a favourite. In the most ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required little deliberation, and in the nature of them required expedition, he would give no order without formal consultation with the rest of the council; which hindered despatch, and made his parts the more suspected, and his power the more grumbled and murmured at. He was son of the marquis of Carpio, who had married the sister of Olivarez, and had been before his favours put about the person of the king, being about the same age with his majesty, and had so grown up in his affection, and was not thought to have been displeased at the disgrace of his uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not succeed in that in many years, nor seemed to be concerned in any business till after the death of the then queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the king's affection, who had a great kindness for his person, than by the ambition of his own nature, or any delight in business. His education had not fitted him for it, and his parts of nature were not sharp, yet his industry was great, and the more commendable, because his nature had some repugnancy to it, and his experience had so fitted him for it, that he never spoke impertinently, and discoursed reasonably and weightily upon all subjects. He was of a melancholic complexion, seldom smiled, and was very hypochondriac; which, it may be, was the reason that he did not trust himself in himself, which was his defect. He seemed to be a very honest and well natured man, and did very rarely manifest his power in acts of oppression, or hardheartedness; which made him grateful enough to most particular men, when he was hated enough by the generality.

His port and grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the French cardinals; who were successively favourites during his administration. Nor did he affect wealth as they did, not leaving a fortune behind him much improved by his own industry : yet it cannot be denied, that the affairs of Spain declined more, in the time they were under his government, than at any time before ; and that less was done with the consumption of so much money, than might have been expected. But it must be likewise considered, that he entered upon that administration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loss of Portugal, and the defection in Catalonia, which made such a rent in that diadem, as would have required more than an ordinary statesman to have soldered it again, and make it flourish as before. The duke of Medina de los Torres was a cadet of the house of Gusmann, whom for that reason the duke of Olivarez, who was of the same family, had made choice [of] to continue his house, by giving him his only daughter in marriage, and raised him to be a duke and grandee, made him *sumiller de corps*, (which is groom of the stole with us, and the second, if not the first place in the court,) and then sent him viceroy into Naples; where burying his wife without child, he married again the princess of Aviliana, an inheritrix of that kingdom, of a great fortune, by whom he had children, and so the alliance and friendship with the condé duke expired. He was of a free and lively humour, unlike the Spaniards, and addicted to all kinds of debauchery alike, whereas they are usually indulgent but to one. He neither depended upon nor loved don Lewis, being as unlike him in his nature and humour as in his complexion, and had power enough with the king to do his own business, which was only to provide for his vast expenses, and being indeed the king's greatest confident in his walks of liberty, and so never crossed don Lewis in the general managery, and seldom came to council, except he was sent for, there being likewise great suits between don Lewis and him about some estate of the duke of Olivarez, which kept them from any intimate correspondence. He was a man of parts, and wanted nothing to be a very good statesman but application, and he was industriously without that. The duke of Monterey had married another of the sisters of the condé duke, and had been ambassador in Rome, and viceroy of Naples, and was now president de consejo de Italia, which is one of the greatest offices. He was esteemed a good man. He was slow, both by his nature and by his infirmities, being in a consumption, and spoke not to be heard at any distance. He was of great courtesy, and believed to be of great judgment, and on which don Lewis depended more than any other man's. The marquis of Castille Roderigo was the son of that Juan de Mora the Portugueze, who was secretary to Philip the Second, and was owner to a very great estate in Portugal, of which he was dispossessed entirely from the time of the general defection of that kingdom, and was now major-domo in that court, which is the greatest office. He had been ambassador in Rome, and afterwards governor of the Low Countries. He was a man of long experience, (his son being then ambassador in the emperor's court, and had treated the marriage of the king,) and much esteemed by the king and don Lewis, but a man of mean natural parts, and by his age peevish. He had been corrupted, during the time of his government in Flanders, by his correspondence with don Alonzo de Cardinas, in his affection towards the king, and in his understanding [of] the affairs of England; so that he was looked upon as the author of those disrespects which the ambassadors had undergone. However he made great professions to them of a desire to serve his majesty; but he died during the time of their stay at Madrid. The marquis of Vall-Periso was an old man, who was for the most part kept in his bed or in his chamber by the gout, so that he was seldom at the council, but his judgment much esteemed. He had formerly had a command of horse in Flanders: and there was a marvellous difference between those men who had ever employment out of Spain, and those whose education and business had been only in Spain. He was a grave man, very civil, and esteemed for his wisdom and integrity, and thought to have good affection for the king, (our master,) and a great detestation of the rebels in England; but his age and infirmities kept him too much within doors to have a notable influence upon their counsels. The condé de Castrilio was the younger brother of the marquis de Carpio, the father of don Lewis, otherwise of no kind of kin to his nephew. He had been bred up in the study of the law in Salamanca, where he had been eminent; and upon his stock in that knowledge came early into that court, and was so much trusted by the late queen, after the disgrace of the condé duke, to which he was thought to have contributed very much, that if she had lived, and held that power which she had newly got, he was very like to be the first minister; which did him no good when he missed it. He was presidente de las Indias, which is one of the greatest offices, and without comparison of the greatest benefit. He was a man of great parts, and a very wise man, grave and eloquent in his discourse, and was thought to understand the state of Spain better than any man. He lived within himself, as if he had a mind to be rich, and by the prejudice don Lewis had towards him, he had not that authority with the king that he deserved to have. Don Francisco de Melo was a cadet of that family in Portugal, and coming young from thence into the court, and being of sharp and quick parts, and having seen other countries, grew into great reputation there, which was not much clouded by the rebellion of the other kingdom, where he had a small estate, and in Spain a great one: he had been viceroy in several kingdoms, and governor in Flanders, where he lost the battle of Rocroix to the prince of Condé. He was a wise man, and much trusted by don Lewis; yet he had no reputation of integrity, and was thought to affect being rich by what means soever.

The ambassadors had not been there long, when the conde of Pignoranda returned thither from his negociation in the treaty of Munster. He had been declared to be of the consejo de estado, after he had made that peace with Holland, and was admitted to it as soon as he returned. He was conde in the right of his wife only; and before, being of a good family, don Diego de Brachamonte, and bred in the study of the law, was looked upon as a good man of business, and so employed in matters of greatest trust. He was indeed a man of great parts, and understood the affairs of the world better than any man in that court, but was proud, to the height of his nation, and retained too much of the pedantry which he had brought with him from Salamanca. As soon as he returned, according to the method of that court upon great and successful employments, the presidentship de los ordines, an office of great reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day conferred upon him. The ambassadors found no benefit by his arrival, coming from Brussels, which was thoroughly infected by don Alonzo. The truth is, don Alonzo, who had no affection for the king, upon the memory of some disobligations when he first came over, and liked well his employment and residence in England, used all the endeavours imaginable to have the king's condition thought to be irrecoverable and desperate, and therefore that all civilities extended towards him were cast away, and would yield no fruit, and that the commonwealth was so established, that it could never be shaken. So that Spain thought only how to make a firm friendship there, and to forget that there ever had been a king, in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore when the ambassadors, after all ceremonies were over, had a private audience with the king, and desired, "that he would appoint commissioners, with whom they might treat about the renewing the alliance between the two crowns, which had been provided for by the last treaty, to be renewed within so many months after the death of either king, and with whom they might likewise confer upon such relief in arms and money, as his catholic majesty would think to send to their master into Ireland," (whither one of the ambassadors desired to hasten his journey as soon as might be; and in that memorial, which they then delivered to his catholic majesty, they had desired likewise "that he would write to Owen O'Neile, to dispose him to submit to the king, since his standing out did only weaken the catholic party, and would make them less united to oppose the parliament, whereby their own destruction would inevitably follow, as well as irreparable damage to the king their master,") they received shortly after an answer, sent to them by don Francisco de Melo, who told them, "that the king had sent him to them, to confer with them upon the substance of their last memorial. He said, the king did not think it necessary to appoint any committee to renew the last treaty of peace; which was still in force, and might well be observed between the two nations; and that the renewing might be deferred till the times should mend;" implying very little less than that when the king should be in England, it would be a fit time to renew the alliance. He said, "he was ready to receive any propositions from them, wherein they might more particularly set down their desires, if they were ready to depart; and for writing to Owen O'Neile," (whom he called don Eugenio,) "he had so misbehaved himself towards his catholic majesty, by leaving his service in Flanders, and transporting himself into Ireland without his license, that his majesty could not in honour write to him; but that he would take such care, that he should know it would be agreeable to his majesty's good liking, that he betook himself to the service of the king of Great Britain without reserve; which he did believe would dispose him to it:" which method they did conceive was proposed, because they should believe that the Spaniard had no hand in sending him into that kingdom, or in fomenting the rebellion; whereas at the same time don Diego de la Torre was with the Irish as resident or envoy from Spain.

This answer was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avowed friendship of that crown, though they still thought they might be able to obtain some little favour in private, as arms, and ammunition, and a small supply of money for the king's subsistence, that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the chancellor of the exchequer, who was designed by the king to attend him in Ireland, expected only to hear that he was arrived there, till when he could not present his memorial so particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himself for his voyage thither: and so they rested for some time, without giving the court any further trouble by audiences, and enjoyed themselves in no unpleasant retreat from business, if they could have put off the thought of the miserable condition of their master, and their own particular concernments in their own country. The chancellor betook himself to the learning the language by reading their books, of which he made a good collection, and informing himself the best he could of the government and the administration of their justice; and there began his devotion upon the Psalms, which he finished in another banishment.

Whilst they were in this impatient expectation to hear from the king, who yet remained at Jersey, by which they might take their own resolutions, prince Rupert came upon the coast of Spain with the fleet under his command; which he had brought from Ireland; and had sent a letter on shore to be sent to the chancellor of the exchequer, one of the ambassadors; which the officer upon the place sent presently to don Lewis de Haro; who, in the same moment, sent it to him with a very civil salutation. The prince writ him word, "that he had brought away all the fleet from Ireland, and that he had received an assurance from Portugal, that he should be very welcome thither; upon which he was resolved, after he had attended some days to meet with any English ships that might be prize, to go for Lisbon; and desired him to procure orders from the court, that he might find a good reception in all the ports of Spain, if his occasions brought him thither." The ambassadors sent immediately for an audience to Don Lewis; who received them with open arms, and another kind of countenance than he had ever done before. A fleet of the king of England, under the command of a prince of the blood, upon the coast of Spain, at a season of the year when they expected the return of their galeons from the Indies, made a great consternation amongst the people, and the court received the news of it with disorder enough. All that the ambassadors asked was granted without hesitation; and letters were despatched away that very night (copies whereof were sent to the ambassadors) by several expresses, to all the governors of the ports, and other officers, for the good reception of prince Rupert, or any ships under his command, if they came into any of the ports; and for the furnishing them with any provisions they should stand in need of, with as many friendly clauses as could have been inserted if the king had been in possession of his whole empire: so great an influence a little appearance of power had upon their spirits; and the ambassadors found they lived in another kind of air than they had done, and received every day visits and caresses from the court, and from those in authority.

But the government of these benign stars was very short: within few days after, they received news, "that the prince, with the gross of his fleet, was gone into the river of Lisbon, and that a squadron of four or five ships, under the command of captain Allen, being severed from the prince by a storm, was driven upon the rocks at Carthagena; where the people of the country had treated them very rudely, and seized both upon the ships, and persons of the men, and the storm continuing had wrecked two or three of their vessels in the road, though the guns and all things in the ships were saved." When the ambassadors demanded justice, " and that restitution might be made of all those goods, and ordnance, and rigging of the ships, which not only the people, but the governors, and officers themselves had seized upon," they were received with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the same expedition in granting what they could not deny. Orders were at last given for the setting all the men at liberty, and re-delivery of the goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their vessels, and transport their men.

But as these orders were but faintly given, so they were more slowly executed; and colonel Popham then appeared upon the coast in the head of a stronger fleet set out by the parliament, which came into the road of St. Andero's; from whence he writ a very insolent letter in English to the king of Spain; wherein he required, " that none of those ships under the command of prince Rupert, and which had revolted from the parliament, and were in rebellion against it, might be received into any of the ports of Spain, and that those ships which were in the ports of Carthagena might be delivered to him, and the ordnance and tackling of the other which were wrecked might be carefully kept, and be delivered to such person as should be authorized to receive the same by the commonwealth of England; to whom they belonged:" and concluded, " that as the commonwealth of England was willing to live in amity and good intelligence with his catholic majesty, so they knew very well how to do themselves right for any injury, or discourtesy, which they should sustain."

This imperious style made such an impression upon the court, that all the importunity the ambassadors could use could get nothing done at Carthagena in pursuance of the orders they had sent from the court; but the poor men were, after long attendance, forced to transport themselves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them marched over land, and were compelled to list themselves in the Spanish service at land; where they, for the most part, perished; care being in the mean time taken, that Popham should be received in all places, with all possible demonstration of respect and kindness; and the king sent him a ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds. In this triumph he sailed from thence into Portugal, and dropped his anchors in the river of Lisbon, at a very small distance from the fleet of prince Rupert; and suffered not any ship to enter into that river; but denounced war against that kingdom, if that fleet were not presently delivered up into his hands.

The Portugueze had received prince Rupert very civilly, bought all the prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free use of all their ports, and furnished him with all things which they stood in need of. The queen, and the prince of Portugal then living, who was a young man of great hope and courage, made great professions of friendship to our king, and of a desire to assist him by all the ways and means which could be proposed to them. But when their river was blocked up, their ships taken, and the whole kingdom upon the matter besieged by Popham, of which they knew the Spaniard would quickly make use, the council was astonished, and knew not what to do: their free trade with England was not only their profit, but their reputation; and if they should be deprived of that, they should not be able to preserve it any where else; which would put the whole kingdom into a flame; and therefore they besought their king, "that prince Rupert might be desired to leave the river, and to carry his fleet from thence;" which was not possible for him to do without fighting with the enemy, to whom he was much inferior in strength of shipping, and number of men, by the loss he had sustained at Carthagena.

The prince of Portugal had so great indignation at this overture made by the council, that he declared "he would have all the ships in the port made ready, and would himself go on board, and join with prince Rupert, and so fight the English, and "drive them from thence:" and he manifested a great desire to do so; but the council prevailed with the queen not to consent to that. So that in the end, after many months stay there, and the fleet being fully supplied with whatever it stood in need of, prince Rupert found it necessary, upon the assurance the Portugueze gave him that Popham should not follow him till after two tides, to set sail and leave that kingdom; which he did with so full a gale, that Popham after so long a stay, found it to no purpose to follow him; but took full vengeance upon Portugal for rescuing his prey from him; until they were compelled, after great sufferings, to purchase their peace from Cromwell upon very hard conditions.

It seemed no good sign to the ambassadors that prince Rupert had left Ireland; where there were so many good ports, and where the fleet had been so necessary for the carrying on his majesty's service. But, in a short time after, they received advertisement, "that the king had laid aside his purpose of going thither, and had taken new resolutions." Before the marquis of Ormond could draw his army together, Cromwell had besieged Tredagh: and though the garrison was so strong in point of number, and that number of so choice men, that they could wish for nothing more than that the enemy would attempt to take them by storm, the very next day after he came before the town he gave a general assault, and was beaten off with considerable loss. But, after a day more, he assaulted it again in two places, with so much courage, that he entered in both; and though the governor and some of the chief officers retired in disorder into a fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panic fear so possessed the soldiers, that they threw down their arms upon a general offer of quarter: so that the enemy entered the works without resistance, and put every man, governor, officer, and soldier, to the sword; and the whole army being entered the town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every man that related to the garrison, and all the citizens who were Irish, man, woman, and child, to the sword; and there being three or four officers of name, and of good families, who had found some way, by the humanity of some soldiers of the enemy, to conceal themselves for four or five days, being afterwards discovered, they were butchered in cold blood.

This insupportable loss took away all hopes from the marquis of Ormond of drawing an army strong enough, and resolute enough, together, to meet Cromwell in the field, during the summer, which was drawing to an end; and obliged him to retire into those quarters, where, in respect of the necessary passes, he might be secure, and from whence he might attempt upon the enemy. Cromwell in the mean time took no rest, but, having made himself terrible by that excess of rigour and cruelty, marched into Munster against the lord Inchiquin, and that body of English which was under his command. Here he defied fortune again; and marched so far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reasonable hope to receive supplies, that he must necessarily have been starved, and could not have retired, all the bridges over which he had passed being broken down, if the city of Cork, which he could not have forced, had not been by the garrison basely delivered up to him; those officers who had been most obliged to the lord Inchiquin, and in whom he had most confidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forsaking him: so that by the example of Cork, and by the terror of Tredagh, the whole province of Munster in a very short time fell into his hands, except some few towns and sea-ports, which, being garrisoned by the Irish, would, neither officers nor soldiers, receive or obey any orders which were sent from the lord of Ormond. The king receiving information of this at Jersey, gave over the thought very reasonably of adventuring himself into Ireland; and dismissed the two ships, which, by the direction of the prince of Orange, had attended so long at St. Maloes, to have wafted him thither.

Though duke Hamilton, and the earl of Lautherdale, and the other Scottish lords, who remained in Holland when the king came into France, durst not return into their own country, yet they held intelligence with their party there. And though the marquis of Argyle had the sole power, yet he could not extinguish the impatient desire of the whole nation, to have their king come to them. And the too great precipitation which the marquis of Mountrose had used in making a desperate descent in the Highlands, with about one hundred and twenty officers, presuming he should have lain concealed till he could have drawn a strength to him, and his being betrayed, and so surprised the next day after he was landed, and the barbarous murdering, in that solemn manner, how fatal soever it was to him, had enough informed Argyle, how the affections of the people were generally disposed, and upon how slippery ground himself stood, if he were not supported by the king; and that the government he was then possessed of could not be lasting, except he had another force to defend him, than that of his own nation. And he durst not receive any from Cromwell, who would willingly have assisted him, for fear of being entirely deserted by all his friends, who had been still firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the king into Scotland, and keeping the Hamiltonian faction from entering with him, by the sentence that was already against them, and to oblige the king to submit to the covenant, and all those other obligations which were at that time established; and if his majesty would put himself into his hands upon those conditions, he would be sure to keep the power in himself under the king's name, and might reasonably hope that Cromwell, who made no pretence to Scotland, might be well enough pleased that his majesty might remain there under his government, and assurance, that he should not give England or Ireland any disturbance.

Upon this presumption, he wished the council of Scotland, and that committee of the parliament in whom the authority was vested, to send again to the king, (who, they thought, by this time, might be weary of Jersey,) to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the people did so passionately desire, he renewed all the solemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the king to come amongst them, but upon his first submitting to and performing all those conditions. And all those things being thus settled, and agreed, they sent a gentleman with letters into Jersey, to invite his majesty again to come into his kingdom of Scotland, not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he would receive. The lords, who are mentioned before to be then in Holland, were glad of this advance; and believed that if the king were there, they should easily find the way home again. And therefore they prevailed with the prince of Orange, to write very earnestly to the king, and to recommend it to the queen; and themselves made great instance to the queen, with whom they had much credit, "that the king would not lose this opportunity to improve his condition." Nobody presumed to advise him to submit to all that was proposed; and yet it was evident, that if he did not submit to all, he could have the benefit of none; but "that he should make such an answer as might engage the Scots in a treaty, for the king's better information, and satisfaction in some particulars: which being done, he should imply a purpose to transport his person thither."

The spring was now coming on, and though Jersey was a convenient place to retire to, in order to consider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reside in, nor would be longer safe, than whilst the parliament had so much else to do, that it could not spare wherewithal to reduce it. The design for Ireland was at an end, and the despair of being welcome in any other place compelled the king to think better of Scotland; and so, according to the advice he had received, he returned an answer to the message he had received, "that there were many particulars contained in the propositions which he did not understand, and which it was necessary for him to be advised in; and, in order thereunto, and that he might be well informed and instructed in what so nearly concerned him, he resolved, by such a time, which was set down, to find himself in Holland; where he desired to meet such persons as his kingdom of Scotland would send to him, and to confer, and treat, and agree with those upon all things that might give his subjects of that kingdom satisfaction; which his majesty did very much desire to do."

The queen had so good an opinion of many of the Scottish lords, and so ill a one of many of the English who were about the king, (in truth, she had so entire a despair of all other ways,) that she was very desirous that the overtures from Scotland should be hearkened to, and embraced: besides that she found her authority was not so great with the king, as she expected, she saw no possibility that they might be together: she knew well that the court of France, that grew every day into a closer correspondence with Cromwell, would not endure that the king should make his residence in any part of that kingdom, and so shortened the assignations which they had made for her own support, that she was at no ease, and begun to think of dissolving her own family, and of her own retiring into a monastery; which from that time she practised by degrees: and, no doubt, that consideration which made most impression upon the king, as it had done upon his father, and terrified him[1] most from complying with the Scots' demands, which was the alteration it would make in religion, and the government of the church, seemed not to her of moment enough to reject the other conveniences; nor did she prefer the glory of the church of England before the sordidness of the kirk of Scotland, but thought it the best expedient to advance her own religion,[2] that the latter should triumph over the former. She therefore writ earnestly to the king her son, "that he would entertain this motion from Scotland, as his only refuge; and that he would invite commissioners to meet him in Holland, in such a place as the prince of Orange should advise;" and desired that, "in his passage thither, he would appoint some place where her majesty would meet him; that they might spend some days together in consultation upon what might concern them jointly." In all which his majesty complying, the city of Beauvais in Picardy was appointed for the interview; where both their majesties met, and conversed together three or four days; and then the queen returned to Paris, and the king passed through Flanders to Breda; which the prince of Orange thought to be the fittest place for the treaty, the States having no mind that the king should come any more to the Hague.

The Scottish commissioners came to Breda with the very same propositions which had been formerly sent, and without the least mitigation, and as positive an exception to persons: so that if the king should incline to go thither, he must go without any one chaplain of his own: there were ministers sent from Scotland to attend, and to instruct him. His majesty must not carry with him any one counsellor, nor any person who had ever served his father in the war against the parliament. And, that nobody might have cause to complain, if they did go thither, that they were worse treated than they had reason to expect, the king himself, and all who should attend upon him, were first to sign the covenant before they should be admitted to enter into the kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any man justly except against any thing that was afterwards done to him.

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[1] Whatsoever the father's were, the son's adherence to episcopacy was entirely on political considerations.—W.

[2] This certainly was in her wishes and endeavours: for the more freedom she took with her virtue, the more need she had to make reparation to her religion.—W.

Here was no great argument for consultation: no man had so ill an understanding, as not to discern the violence that was offered to honour, justice, and conscience; yet whoever objected against what was proposed, upon any of those considerations, was looked upon as a party, because he himself could not be suffered to attend the king. It was thought to be of great weight, that they who dissuaded the king from going into Scotland, upon those rude and barbarous terms, could not propose any thing else for him to do, nor any place where he might securely repose himself, with any hope of subsistence: a very sad state for a prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifest enough, that the kings of the earth[1] are not such a body as is sensible of the indignity and outrage that is offered to any limb of it. The Scottish lords were thought to be the most competent counsellors, since they, by going, were to be exposed to great rigour, and to undergo the severest part of all censures. They could not sit in the parliament, nor in the council, and knew well that they should not be suffered to be about the person of the king: yet all these resolved to wait upon him, and persuaded him to believe, "that his majesty's presence would dissipate those clouds; and that a little time would produce many alterations, which could not be presently effected." For his majesty's signing the covenant,

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[1] On the principles of the noble author, who supposed the people made for kings, and not kings for the people, this reproof is just; but on the contrary principle, these *kings of the earth* acted justly, since their people were not to be brought into a national quarrel for the sake of a personal injury.—W.

" he should tell the commissioners, that he would defer it till he came thither, that he might think better of it; and that if then the kirk should press it upon him, he would give them satisfaction. And they were confident, that, after he should be there, he should be no more importuned in it, but that even the churchmen themselves would contend to make themselves gracious to him."

This kind of argumentation wrought much with the prince of Orange, but more with the duke of Buckingham, who had waited upon the king from the time of his adventure with the earl of Holland, (against whose person there was no exception,) and with Wilmot, and Wentworth, (who resolved to go with his majesty, and would submit to any conditions, which would be required of them,) and with others about the king, who could not digest the covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promises those Scottish lords made to them, who were like to grow into authority again when they should be once in their native air and upon their own soil, prevailed with them to use all their credit with the king to embark himself, and try how propitious fortune would be to him in Scotland. In the end, a faint hope in that, and a strong despair of any other expedient, prevailed so far with his majesty, that he resolved, upon what terms soever, to embark himself, in Holland, upon a fleet which the prince of Orange provided for him; and so with all the Scottish, and very few English servants, to set sail for Scotland.

There were two very strong arguments, which made deep impression on those lords who very vehemently dissuaded, and ever protested against his majesty's going for Scotland, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the highest importance, they could not make use of to convert others, especially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The first, " that the expedition of duke Hamilton the year before, with an army as numerous, and much better furnished, and provided, than Scotland could in many years be again enabled to send out, made it manifest enough, how little that nation, how united soever, could prevail against the force of England:" The other " that the whole and absolute power of Scotland being, at that time, confessedly vested in the marquis of Argyle, it might reasonably be feared, and expected, that the king should no sooner arrive there, and the least appearance be discovered of such resolutions, or alterations in the affections of the people, upon which the Hamiltonian faction wholly and solely depended, but Argyle would immediately deliver up the person of the king into the hands of Cromwell; and, with the assistance he would willingly give, make that kingdom tributary or subservient to him, whilst the king remained his prisoner, and Argyle continued his vicegerent in Scotland." No doubt these objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of apprehension, by many men, who were not blinded with passion, or amazed with despair: and though they were not able to give any other counsel, what course the king might steer with reasonable hope and security, they might yet warrantably dissuade his exposing himself to so many visible dangers as that voyage was subject to both at sea and land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of king, in what obscurity soever, in any part of the world, was to be preferred before the empty name of king in any of his own dominions;[1] which was the best that could reasonably be expected from the conditions which were imposed upon him; to which he was compelled to submit.

When the ambassadors who were in Spain expected every day to hear of his majesty's being arrived in Ireland, and had thereupon importuned that court for a despatch, the king gave them notice of this his resolution, and directed them "to remain where they were, till he could better judge of his own fortune." They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a strong aversion that the king should ever venture himself in the hands of that nation, which had treated his father so perfidiously. And they were now necessitated to stay there, where they had received so little encouragement, and had no reason to expect more; yet they knew not whither else to go. They therefore resolved to set the best face they could upon it, and desired an audience from the king, in which they told his catholic majesty, "that they had received letters from the king their master; who commanded them to inform his majesty, who, he knew well, would be glad to hear of any good fortune that befell him, that it had now pleased God to work so far upon the hearts and affections of his subjects of Scotland, that they had given over all those factions and animosities, which had heretofore divided them, and made them rather instruments of mischiefs than benefit to his blessed father, and to himself: that they were now sensible of all those miscarriages, and had sent unanimously to entreat his majesty to come into that kingdom, and to take them all into his protection: with which his majesty was so well satisfied, that he had laid aside the thought of transporting himself into Ireland; which he had intended to do; and was gone into Scotland; where the kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and from whence he could visit England, or Ireland, as he found it most convenient: and that he had reason to believe, that his friends in either of the kingdoms would quickly appear in arms, when they were sure to be so powerfully assisted, and seconded." And they said, "they would, from time to time, inform his majesty of the good success that should fall out." The king professed "to be very glad of this good news; and that they should assure the king their master, that he would be always ready to make all the demonstration of a brotherly affection that the ill condition of his own affairs would permit; and that, if it pleased God to give a peace to the two crowns, the world should see how forward he would be to revenge the wrong and indignity the king of Great Britain had undergone."

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[1] Because the empty name of king abroad impeached no claim or right to any of the prerogatives of monarchy; but the being contented with that *empty name*, within his own dominions, implied a kind of cession of those rights.—W.

Though the ambassadors themselves were afflicted with the news of his majesty's being gone for Scotland, upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery of that people, yet they found his majesty was much the more esteemed in this court by it. He was before looked upon as being dispossessed and disinherited of all his dominions, as if he had no more subjects than those few who were banished with him, and that there was an entire defection in all the rest.

But now that he was possessed of one whole kingdom, in which no man appeared in arms against him, a kingdom which had been famous for many warlike actions, and which always bred a very warlike people, which had borne good parts in all the wars of Europe in this age, and had been more celebrated in them than the English had been, was a happy advance, and administered reasonable hope that he might be established in the other two kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous army on foot at that very time: so that the ambassadors were much better looked upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the English merchants who lived in the ports of Spain, as they had sometimes occasion to do, upon taxes and impositions laid upon them, contrary to the treaties which had been made, and which they said were still in force, they were heard with respect; the merchants were relieved; and many favours were done to particular persons upon their desires and interposition: so that they were not so much out of countenance as they had been, and all men spoke with more freedom and detestation against the rebellion in England, and the barbarity thereof, than they had used to do.

There fell out at this time, and before the king left Holland, an accident of such a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of Scotland, determined that the king should once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that nation, could not but have diverted his majesty from that northern expedition; which, how unsecure soever it appeared to be for the king, was predestinated for a greater chastisement and mortification of that people, as it shortly after proved to be. When the king had left Holland, the summer before, and intended only to make France his way to Ireland, he had given his commission to the marquis of Mountrose, to gather such a force together, as by the help of the northern princes he might be enabled to do. Upon which the marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of success, sent several officers who had served in Germany, and promised very much, to draw such troops together as they should be enabled to do, and himself, with a great train of officers and servants, went for Hamburg;

which he appointed for the rendezvous for all these troops, and from whence he could in the mean time visit such courts of the neighbour princes and states, as he should be encouraged to do; and keep such intelligence with his friends in Scotland, as should provide for his reception.

Besides the hopes and encouragement he had received from the ambassador Wolfelte, to expect good supplies in Denmark, there were many officers of good name and account in Sweden, of the Scottish nation, who were grown rich, and lived in plenty in that kingdom. With the principal of them, the marquis had held correspondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themselves, "that if the marquis engaged himself in the king's service in the kingdom of Scotland, they would give him notable assistance in money, arms, and men." In a word, he sent, or went in person, to both those kingdoms; where he found the performance very disproportionable to their promises. Queen Christina had received an ambassador from England with wonderful civility and grace, and expressed a great esteem of the person of Cromwell, as a man of glorious achievements; and before she resigned the crown, which she shortly after did, she engaged it in a fast alliance with the new commonwealth, and disposed her successor to look upon it as a necessary support to his crown. In Denmark, the marquis found good wishes enough, a hearty detestation of all the villanies which had been acted in England, and as hearty wishes for the advancement and prosperity of the king's affairs; but the kingdom itself was very poor, and full of discontent, the king not so much esteemed, because not so much feared, as his father had been, and he had been compelled to make many unreasonable concessions to Holland, that he might have assistance from them, to protect him from those assaults and invasions which were threatened from Sweden. So that the marquis was obliged to return to Hamburg, with very small supplies, from either or both those kingdoms: and there he received no better account from those officers who had been sent into Germany. His design had always been to land in the Highlands of Scotland, before the winter season should be over, both for the safety of his embarkation, and that he might have time to draw those people together, who, he knew, would be willing to repair to him, before it should be known at Edinburgh that he was landed in the kingdom. He had, by frequent messages, kept a constant correspondence with those principal heads of the clans who were most powerful in the Highlands, and were of known or unsuspected affection to the king, and advertised them of all his motions and designs. And by them advertised those of the Lowlands of all his resolutions; who had promised, upon the first notice of his arrival, to resort with all their friends and followers to him.

Whether these men did really believe, that their own strength would be sufficient to subdue their enemies, who were grown generally odious, or thought the bringing over troops of foreigners would lessen the numbers and affections of the natives, they did write very earnestly to the marquis, "to hasten his coming over with officers, arms, and ammunition; for which he should find hands enough;" and gave him notice, "that the committee of estates at Edinburgh had sent again to the king to come over to them; and that the people were so impatient for his presence, that Argyle was compelled to consent to the invitation." It is very probable that this made the greatest impression upon him. He knew very well how few persons there were about the king, who were like to continue firm in those principles, which could only confirm his majesty in his former resolutions against the persuasions and importunities of many others, who knew how to represent to him the desperateness of his condition any other way, than by repairing into Scotland upon any conditions. Mountrose knew, that of the two factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, they were both equally his implacable enemies; so that which soever prevailed, he should be still in the same state, the whole kirk, of what temper soever, being alike malicious to him; and hearing likewise of the successive misfortunes in Ireland, he concluded, the king would not trust himself there. Therefore, upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from Germany and those northern princes would not increase the strength he had already, he caused, in the depth of the winter, those soldiers he had drawn together, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be embarked, and sent officers with them, who knew the country, with directions that they should land in such a place in the Highlands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or sent them orders. And then in another vessel, manned by people well known to him, and commanded by a captain very faithful to the king, and who was well acquainted with that coast, he embarked himself, and near one hundred officers, and landed in another creek, not far from the other place, whither his soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other party were set safely on shore in the places they designed ; from whence the marquis himself with some servants, and officers, repaired presently to the house of a gentleman of quality, with whom he had corresponded, who expected him ; by whom he was well received, and thought himself to be in security till he might put his affairs in some method : and therefore ordered his other small troops to contain themselves in those uncouth quarters, in which they were, and where they were not like to be disturbed by the visitation of any enemy.

After he had stayed there a short time, it being in March about the end of the year 1649,[1] he quickly possessed himself of an old castle ; which, in respect of the situation in a country so impossible for any army to march in, he thought strong enough for his purpose : thither he conveyed the arms, ammunition, and troops, which he had brought with him. And then he published his declaration, " that he came with the king's commission, to assist those his good subjects, and to preserve them from oppression : that he did not intend to give any interruption to the treaty that he heard was entered into with his majesty ; but, on the contrary, hoped that his being in the head of an army, how small soever, that was faithful to the king, might advance the same. However, he had given sufficient proof in his former actions, that if any agreement were made with the king, upon the first order from his majesty, he should lay down his arms, and dispose himself according to his majesty's good pleasure." These declarations he sent to his friends to be scattered by them, and dispersed amongst the people, as they could be able. He writ likewise to those of the nobility, and the heads of the several clans, "to draw such forces together, as they thought necessary to join with him;" and he received answers from many of them, by which they desired him "to advance more into the land," (for he was yet in the remotest parts of Cathness,) and assured him, "that they would meet him with good numbers:" and they did prepare so to do, some really; and others, with a purpose to betray him.

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[1] *That is, old style.*

In this state stood the affair in the end of the year 1649: but because the unfortunate tragedy of that noble person succeeded so soon after, without the intervention of any notable circumstances to interrupt it, we will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be resumed in the proper season; which quickly ensued, in the beginning of the next year. The marquis of Argyle was vigilant enough, to observe the motion of an enemy that was so formidable to him; and had present information of his arrival in the Highlands, and of the small forces which he had brought with him. The parliament was then sitting at Edinburgh, their messenger being returned to them from Jersey, with an account, "that the king would treat with their commissioners at Breda;" for whom they were preparing their instructions.

The alarm of Mountrose's being landed startled them all, and gave them no leisure to think of any thing else than of sending forces to hinder the recourse of others to join with him. They immediately sent colonel Straghan, a diligent and active officer, with a choice party of the best horse they had, to make all possible haste towards him, and to prevent the insurrections, which they feared would be in several parts of the Highlands. And, within few days after, David Lesley followed with a stronger party of horse and foot. The encouragement the marquis of Mountrose received from his friends, and the unpleasantness of the quarters in which he was, prevailed with him to march, with these few troops, more into the land. And the Highlanders flocking to him from all quarters, though ill armed, and worse disciplined, made him undervalue any enemy who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. Straghan made such haste, that the earl of Southerland, who at least pretended to have gathered together a body of fifteen hundred men to meet Mountrose, chose rather to join with Straghan: others did the like, who had made the same promises, or stayed at home to expect the event of the first encounter. The marquis was without any body of horse to discover the motion of an enemy, but depended upon all necessary intelligence from the affection of the people; which he believed to be the same it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated; the tyranny of Argyle, and his having caused very many to be barbarously murdered, without any form of law or justice, who had been in arms with Mountrose, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity, had so broken their hearts, that they were ready to do all offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that Straghan was within a small distance of him, before he heard of his approach; and those Highlanders, who had seemed to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified or corrupted, left him on a sudden, or threw down their arms; so that he had none left, but a company of good officers, and five or six hundred foreigners, Dutch and Germans, who had been acquainted with their officers. With these, he betook himself to a place of some advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the bushes and small shrubs which filled it: and there they made a defence for some time with notable courage.

But the enemy being so much superior in number, the common soldiers, being all foreigners, after about a hundred of them were killed upon the place, threw down their arms; and the marquis, seeing all lost, threw away his ribbon and George, (for he was a knight of the garter,) and found means to change his clothes with a fellow of the country, and so after having gone on foot two or three miles, he got into a house of a gentleman, where he remained concealed about two days: most of the other officers were shortly after taken prisoners, all the country desiring to merit from Argyle by betraying all those into his hands which they believed to be his enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the house, or any other way, the marquis himself became their prisoner. The strangers who were taken, were set at liberty, and transported themselves into their own countries; and the castle, in which there was a little garrison, presently rendered itself; so that there was no more fear of an enemy in those parts.

The marquis of Mountrose, and the rest of the prisoners, were the next day, or soon after, delivered to David Lesley; who was come up with his forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in triumph to Edinburgh; whither notice was quickly sent of their great victory; which was received there with wonderful joy and acclamation. David Lesley treated the marquis with great insolence, and for some days carried him in the same clothes, and habit, in which he was taken; but at last permitted him to buy better. His behaviour was, in the whole time, such as became a great man; his countenance serene and cheerful, as one that was superior to all those reproaches, which they had prepared the people to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass.

When he came to one of the gates at Edinburgh, he was met by some of the magistrates, to whom he was delivered, and by them presently put into a new cart, purposely made, in which there was a high chair, or bench, upon which he sat, that the people might have a full view of him, being bound with a cord drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the cart. When he was in this posture, the hangman took off his hat, and rode himself before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken prisoners with him, walking two and two before the cart; the streets and windows being full of people to behold the triumph over a person whose name had made them tremble some few years before, and into whose hands the magistrates of that place had, upon their knees, delivered the keys of that city. In this manner he was carried to the common gaol, where he was received and treated as a common malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the parliament, where the earl of Lowden, the chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent declamation against him: told him, " he had broken all the covenants by which that whole nation stood obliged; and had impiously rebelled against God, the king, and the kingdom; that he had committed many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for all which he was now brought to suffer condign punishment;" with all those insolent reproaches upon his person, and his actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to use.

Permission was then given him to speak; and without the least trouble in his countenance, or disorder, upon all the indignities he had suffered, he told them, "since the king had owned them so far as to treat with them, he had appeared before them with reverence, and bareheaded, which otherwise he would not have done: that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed, or had cause to repent; that the first covenant, he had taken, and complied with it, and with them who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordained were observed; but when he discovered, which was now evident to all the world, that private and particular men designed to satisfy their own ambition and interest, instead of considering the public benefit; and that, under the pretence of reforming some errors in religion, they resolved to abridge and take away the king's just power, and lawful authority, he had withdrawn himself from that engagement: that for the league and covenant, he had never taken it, and therefore could not break it: and it was now too apparent to the whole Christian world, what monstrous mischiefs it had produced: that when, under colour of it, an army from Scotland had invaded England in assistance of the rebellion that was then against their lawful king, he had, by his majesty's command, received a commission from him to raise forces in Scotland, that he might thereby divert them from the other odious prosecution: that he had executed that commission with the obedience and duty he owed to the king; and, in all the circumstances of it, had proceeded like a gentleman; and had never suffered any blood to be shed but in the heat of the battle; and that he saw many persons there, whose lives he had saved: that when the king commanded him, he laid down his arms, and withdrew out of the kingdom; which they could not have compelled him to have done." He said, "he was now again entered into the kingdom by his majesty's command, and with his authority: and what success soever it might have pleased God to have given him, he would always have obeyed any commands he should have received from him." He advised them, "to consider well of the consequence before they proceeded against him, and that all his actions might be examined, and judged by the laws of the land, or those of nations."

As soon as he had ended his discourse, he was ordered to withdraw; and, after a short space, was again brought in; and told by the chancellor, "that he was, on the morrow, being the one and twentieth of May 1650, to be carried to Edinburgh cross, and there to be hanged upon a gallows thirty foot high, for the space of three hours, and then to be taken down, and his head to be cut off upon a scaffold, and hanged on Edinburgh tollbooth; his legs and arms to be hanged up in other public towns of the kingdom, and his body to be buried at the place where he was to be executed, except the kirk should take off his excommunication; and then his body might be buried in the common place of burial." He desired, "that he might say somewhat to them;" but was not suffered, and so was carried back to the prison.

That he might not enjoy any ease or quiet during the short remainder of his life, their ministers came presently to insult over him with all the reproaches imaginable; pronounced his damnation; and assured him, "that the judgment he was the next day to undergo, was but an easy prologue to that which he was to undergo afterwards." After many such barbarities, they offered to intercede for him to the kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well understood the form of their common prayer, in those cases, to be only the most virulent and insolent imprecations against the persons of those they prayed against, ("Lord, vouchsafe yet to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible sinner, this wicked, perjured, traitorous, and profane person, who refuses to hearken to the voice of thy kirk," and the like charitable expressions,) and therefore he desired them "to spare their pains, and to leave him to his own devotions." He told them, "that they were a miserable, deluded, and deluding people; and would shortly bring that poor nation under the most insupportable servitude ever people had submitted to." He told them, "he was prouder to have his head set upon the place it was appointed to be, than he could have been to have had his picture hang in the king's bedchamber: that he was so far from being troubled that his four limbs were to be hanged in four cities of the kingdom, that he heartily wished that he had flesh enough to be sent to every city in Christendom, as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered."

The next day, they executed every part and circumstance of that barbarous sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greatest piety, that a good Christian could manifest. He magnified the virtue, courage, and religion of the last king, exceedingly commended the justice, and goodness, and understanding of the present king; and prayed, "that they might not betray him as they had done his father." When he had ended all he meant to say, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one scene more to act of their tyranny. The hangman brought the book that had been published of his truly heroic actions, whilst he had commanded in that kingdom, which book was tied in a small cord that was put about his neck. The marquis smiled at this new instance of their malice, and thanked them for it; and said, "he was pleased that it should be there; and was prouder of wearing it, than ever he had been of the garter;" and so renewing some devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the last act of the executioner.

Soon after, the officers who had been taken with him, sir William Urry, sir Francis Hay, and many others, of as good families as any in the kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in several quarters of the kingdom; many of them being suffered to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to save, one colonel Whitford; who, when he was brought to die, said, "he knew the reason why he was put to death; which was only because he had killed Dorislaus at the Hague;" who was one of those who had joined in the murder of the last king. One of the magistrates, who were present to see the execution, caused it to be suspended, till he presently informed the council what the man had said; and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and so preserved the gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that action.

Thus died the gallant marquis of Mountrose, after he had given as great a testimony of loyalty and courage, as a subject can do, and performed as wonderful actions in several battles, upon as great inequality of numbers, and as great disadvantages in respect of arms, and other preparations for war, as have been performed in this age. He was a gentleman of a very ancient extraction, many of whose ancestors had exercised the highest charges under the king in that kingdom, and had been allied to the crown itself. He was of very good parts, which were improved by a good education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the marquis of Argyle, (as he was too apt to contemn those he did not love,) who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary man, having all other good talents in a very great degree. Mountrose was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any enterprise for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seemed desperate to other men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself which other men were not acquainted with, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him, (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility and generosity,) than with his superiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean so well as he. He was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his memory preserved, and celebrated amongst the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived.

The king received an account and information of all these particulars, before he embarked from Holland, without any other apology for the affront and indignity to himself, than that they assured him, "that the proceeding against the late marquis of Mountrose had been for his service." They who were most displeased with Argyle and his faction, were not sorry for this inhuman and monstrous prosecution; which at the same time must render him the more odious, and had rid them of an enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they persuaded the king, who was enough afflicted with the news, and all the circumstances of it, "that he might sooner take revenge upon that people by a temporary complying with them, and going to them, than staying away, and absenting himself, which would invest them in an absolute dominion in that kingdom, and give them power to corrupt or destroy all those who yet remained faithful to him, and were ready to spend their lives in his service:" and so his majesty pursued his former resolution and embarked for Scotland.

In Ireland, after the massacre of that body of English at Tredagh, and the treacherous giving up the towns in Munster, by the officers of the lord Inchiquin, there broke out so implacable a jealousy amongst the Irish against all the English, that no orders of the marquis of Ormond found any obedience, nor could he draw an army together. At the making of the peace, he had consented that the confederate Roman catholics should name a number of the commissioners, by whose orders and ministry all levies of men, and all collections of money, were to be made, according to the directions of the lord lieutenant. And such persons were named, in whose affections, for the most part, the lieutenant was well satisfied, and the rest were such as were not like to be able to give any interruption. A certain number of these were appointed to be always in the army, and near the person of the lord lieutenant, and the rest in their several stations, where they were most like to advance the service. Many of these commissioners were of the Roman catholic nobility, persons of honour, and very sensible of the weakness, wilfulness, and wickedness of that rebellion; and did manifest all possible zeal and affection to the king's service, engaging their persons in all enterprises of danger, and using all possible industry to raise men and money, whereby the lord lieutenant might be enabled to carry on the war in the spring. But many of the other, after those misfortunes had fallen out, which are mentioned before, either totally desponded, and rather thought of providing for themselves than for the preservation of the public; or fomented the jealousies which were amongst the Irish, and incensed them against the English, who were still with the lord lieutenant; so that his orders were not obeyed at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their clergy and friars publicly incensed the people against the articles of the peace, and desired to have an army raised apart under a general of their own.

The lord lieutenant now discovered the reason why Owen O'Neile had refused to consent to the peace which the confederate Roman catholics had made with the king, and kept his army in Ulster from submitting thereunto, and pretended to desire to treat apart with the lord lieutenant for himself; which was then thought to proceed from the jealousy that was between him and Preston, and the animosity between those old Irish of Ulster, and the other of the other provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the marquis of Ormond's transporting himself out of France, and that the correspondence was discovered to be between him and the lord Inchiquin, and the treaty begun with the confederate catholics, the close committee at Westminster sent secret instructions to Monk, who commanded their forces in Ireland, "that he should endeavour to treat with Owen O'Neile, and so divide him from the rest of the Irish;" which Monk found opportunity to do: and it was no sooner proposed than hearkened unto by O'Neile; who presently sent a trusty messenger with such propositions to Monk, as he desired to have granted to him. He offered, "with his army, which should always consist of such a number of horse and foot, and artillery, as should be agreed between them, to serve the parliament; and not to separate from their interest;" and proposed, "that he, and all his party that should adhere to him, should enjoy the exercise of their religion, without any prejudice or disadvantage: that himself might be restored to those lands which his ancestors had been possessed of in Tyrone, Londonderry, or any other parts of Ireland; and that all those who had or would adhere to him, should be likewise restored to their estates; and that an act of oblivion might be granted." Monk received these propositions; and after he had perused them, he sent him word, "that there were some particulars, which, he doubted, would shock and offend the parliament, and therefore desired they might be altered;" and proposed the alterations he advised; which principally concerned the public exercise of their religion; which he so qualified, that they might well enough satisfy; and proposed, "that, if O'Neile would consent to those alterations, he would return the treaty signed by him; which he would immediately send over to the parliament for their confirmation; and that, in the mean time, there might be a cessation of arms between them for three months; in which time, and much less, he presumed, he should receive a ratification of the treaty from the parliament."

Owen O'Neile consented to the alterations, set his hand and seal to the treaty, and returned it to Monk, with his consent likewise to the cessation for three months. And at this time it was, that he refused to agree with the confederate council at Kilkenny in the peace with the king. Monk sent it presently to the committee, which had given him authority to do what he had done. But their affairs were now better composed at home, and some preparations were made towards sending relief for Ireland; besides, they had not authority to make any such ratification, but presented it to the parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner reported there but the house was on fire; all men inveighed against "the presumption of Monk, who deserved to be displaced, and to have his command taken from him, and to have exemplary punishment inflicted on him. They remembered how criminal they had declared it to be in the king himself, to have treated, and made a peace with the Irish rebels: and what would the people think, and say, if any countenance should be given to the same transgression by the parliament? if they should ratify a treaty made by the most notorious of the rebels, and with that people under his command, who were the most notorious contrivers of that rebellion, and the most bloody executioners of it? for the most merciless massacres had been committed in Ulster, by that very people who now constituted that army of which Owen O'Neile was now general." After all the passion and choler which they thought necessary to express upon this subject, they declared, "that they had given no authority to Monk to enter into that treaty; and therefore, that it was void, and should never be confirmed by them; but that, since he had proceeded out of the sincerity of his heart, and as he thought (how erroneously soever) for the good and benefit of the commonwealth, he should be excused; and no further questioned thereupon." For they knew well, that he could produce such a warrant from those in authority, as would well justify his proceeding: and so the treaty with Owen O'Neile became void, though they had received a very considerable benefit by it; for though the Scots in Ulster had not yet submitted to the peace, and had not received directions from Edinburgh to acknowledge the authority of the lord lieutenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the murder of the late king, they had used all acts of hostility against the parliament forces, and had besieged Londonderry; the only considerable place that yielded obedience to the parliament; which was defended by sir Charles Coote, and when it was brought to some extremity, by the cessation made with Owen O'Neile, and by his connivance and assistance, Londonderry was relieved; and O'Neile, finding himself deluded by the parliament, sent then to offer his service and conjunction to the lord lieutenant, with abundant professions of fidelity and revenge.

Cromwell made notable use of this animosity between the Irish amongst themselves, and of the jealousy they all appeared to have of the marquis of Ormond, and of those who adhered to him; and used all the endeavours he could, by some prisoners who were taken, and by others who were in the towns which were betrayed to him, and were well known to have affection for the marquis, to procure a conference with him. He used to ask in such company, "what the marquis of Ormond had to do with Charles Stuart, and what obligations he had ever received from him?" And then would mention the hard measure his grandfather had received from king James, and the many years imprisonment he had sustained by him, for not submitting to an extra-judicial and private determination of his; which yet he was at last compelled to do. He said, "he was confident, if the marquis and he could meet together, upon conference, they should part very good friends." And many of those with whom he held these discourses, by his permission and licence, informed the marquis of all he said; who endeavoured nothing but to put himself into such a posture, as to be able to meet him as he desired to do.

When Cromwell saw that he should be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, besides the army that yet remained under Owen O'Neile so much disobliged and provoked, there were still vast bodies of the Irish, which might be drawn together into several armies, much greater and superior in number to all his forces, and that they had several great towns and strong holds in their power, he declared a full liberty and authority to all the officers with the Irish, and to all other persons whatsoever, to raise what men they would, and to transport them for the service of any foreign princes with whom they could make the best conditions; and gave notice to the Spanish and French ministers, and agents at London, of the liberty he had granted. Upon which many officers who had served the king, and remained in London in great poverty and want, made conditions with don Alonzo de Cardinas, to raise regiments and transport them into Spain; and many officers, who were already in Spain, as well English as Irish, contracted with the ministers in that court to raise and transport several regiments into that kingdom from Ireland; for which they received very great sums of money in hand; many merchants joining with them in the contract, and undertaking the transportation upon very good conditions; there being no other danger but of the sea in the undertaking; insomuch that, in very few months above a year, there were embarked in the ports of Ireland about five and twenty thousand men for the kingdom of Spain; whereof not half were ever drawn into the field there, and very few ever lived to return. For the officers and masters of ships, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their men at such ports as were assigned to them, and where care was taken for their reception, and conduct to the quarters which were appointed, according to the service to which they were designed, either for Catalonia or Portugal, (after they had been long at sea, by which the soldiers, who were crowded more together into one ship than was fit for so long voyages, had contracted many diseases, and many were dead, and thrown overboard,) as soon as they came upon the coast made all haste to land, how far soever from the place at which they stood bound to deliver their men; by which, in those places that could make resistance, they were not suffered to land, and in others no provision was made for their reception or march, but very great numbers were starved or knocked in the head by the country people, and few ever came up to the armies, except officers; who flocked to Madrid for the remainder of their monies; where the ministers received them with reproaches for not observing their conditions, and refused to pay either them, or the masters of the ships, what remained to be paid by them. This was the case of too many: though the truth is, where the articles were punctually observed, and the ships arrived in the very ports assigned, by the defect in the orders sent from the court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor men were often kept from disembarking, till some officers went to Madrid, and returned with more positive orders, and afterwards so ill provision was made for their refreshing and march, that rarely half of those who were shipped in Ireland, ever lived to do any service in Spain: and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the ministers there should issue out such vast sums in money for the raising of soldiers, and bringing them into the kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the officers, and take so very little care to cherish and nourish them, when they came thither; which manifested how loose the government was.

It is very true, that there was at that time a much greater inclination in the Irish for the service of Spain, than of France; yet the cardinal employed more active and dexterous instruments to make use of the liberty that was granted, and shipping was more easily procured, the passage being shorter; insomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thousand men at the same time transported out of Ireland into the kingdom of France; of whose behaviour in the one kingdom and the other, there will be abundant argument hereafter to discourse at large. In the mean time, it is enough to observe that when the king's lieutenant, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and contracts, which the confederate Roman catholics had made to and with him, could not draw together a body of five thousand men, (by which he might have been able to have given some stop to the current of Cromwell's successes,) Cromwell himself found a way to send above forty thousand men out of that kingdom for service of foreign princes; which were enough to have driven him from thence, and to have restored it to the king's entire obedience.

In England, the spirits of all the loyal party were so broken and subdued, that they could scarce breathe under the insupportable burdens which were laid upon them by imprisonments, compositions, and sequestrations. Whatever articles they had made in the war, and whatever promises had been made of pardon and indemnity, they were now called upon to finish their composition for their delinquency, and paid dear for the credit they had given to the professions and declarations of the army, when it seemed to have pity, and complained of the severe and rigorous proceeding against the king's party, and extorting unreasonable penalties from them; which then they desired might be moderated. But now the mask was off, they sequestered all their estates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they should compound; which they were forced to do at so unreasonable rates, that many were compelled to sell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the support of their families; which remainder was still liable to whatever impositions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their persons were to imprisonment, when any unreasonable and groundless report was raised of some plot and conspiracy against the state.

The parliament, which consisted only of those members who had sat in judgment, and had solemnly murdered the king, and of those who as solemnly under their hands had approved and commended what the others had done, met with no opposition or contradiction from any, but an entire submission from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own army which had contributed most to the grandeur and empire of which they were possessed, the levellers. That people had been countenanced by Cromwell to enter into cabals and confederacies to corrupt and dissolve the discipline of the army, and by his artifices had been applied to bring all his crooked designs to pass. By them he broke the strict union between the parliament and the Scots, and then took the king out of the hands of the parliament, and kept him in the army, with so many fair professions of intending better to his majesty, and his party, than the other did; by them the presbyterians had been affronted and trodden under foot, and the city of London exposed to disgrace and infamy; by them he had broken the treaty of the Isle of Wight; driven out of the parliament, by force of arms, all those who desired peace, and at last executed his barbarous malice upon the sacred person of the king: and when he had applied them to all those uses, for which he thought them to be most fit, he hoped and endeavoured to have reduced them again, by a severe hand, into that order and obedience from whence he had seduced them, and which was now as necessary to his future purpose of government. But they had tasted too much of the pleasure of having their part and share in it, to be willing to be stripped, and deprived of it; and made an unskilful computation of what they should be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in those changes and revolutions which are mentioned; not considering, that the superior officers of the army were now united with the parliament, and concurred entirely in the same designs. And therefore, when they renewed their former expostulations and demands from the parliament, they were cashiered, and imprisoned, and some of them put to death. Yet after Cromwell, who had persecuted them with great fury, was gone for Ireland, they recovered their courage, and resolved to obtain those concessions by force, which were refused to be granted upon their request: and so they mutinied in several parts, upon presumption that those of the army, who would not join with them in public, would yet never be prevailed with to oppose, and reduce them by force. But this confidence deceived them; for the parliament no sooner commanded their general Fairfax to suppress them, than he drew troops together, and fell upon them at Banbury, and in other places; and by killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppressed that faction; and the orders of those at Westminster met with no more opposition.

This was the state and condition of the three kingdoms when the king embarked himself in Holland for Scotland, and at the end of the year 1649. *i. e. Old Style.* And since the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate actions, we will end this discourse, according to the method we have used, with this year: though hereafter we shall not continue the same method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years, whilst the king rested in a patient expectation of God's blessing and deliverance, in less room.

THE HISTORY

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XIII.

Argyle sends new propositions; which missed the king—The king arrives in Scotland—The king takes the covenant—Hamilton and Lautherdale depart from the king—Argyle receives the king—Most of the king's English servants removed from him—Daniel O'Neile apprehended by order of the council of Scotland; and banished—Mr. Long also sent away—Their clergy always about the king—Their sermons before him—Argyle's behaviour to him—Ascham sent agent into Spain from the parliament of England—The ambassadors there expostulate with don Lewis about it—His answer—Ascham killed by some officers at his lodgings in Madrid—All but one fly to a chapel for sanctuary; he, to the Venetian ambassador's—The ambassadors write to don Lewis about this action—His answer—Those that fled to the chapel are taken thence, and imprisoned: the other escapes into France—The nuncio Rospigliosi required them to be delivered back—The issue of this business after the ambassadors' departure—Cromwell, sent for by the parliament out of Ireland, leaves Ireton his deputy—The parliament resolved to send an army into Scotland—Fairfax gives up his commission—Cromwell made general—The Scots raise an army against him—Cromwell enters Scotland—The distress of Cromwell's army—Cromwell entirely routs the Scots in the battle of Dunbar—Cromwell enters Edinburgh—The king gets advantage by this—The secretary of state brings a message from the king of Spain to the ambassadors, to desire them to be gone—They apply to don Lewis—The reason of their being pressed to depart Madrid in such haste—The lord Cottington resolves to stay as a private man in Spain—The ambassadors have audience of leave—The lord Cottington lives at Valladolid till he dies—His character—The other ambassador dismissed very courteously—In his passage through France he waits on the queen mother—The death of the prince of Orange—His princess delivered of a son shortly after—The king lost a sure friend in the prince—Touching the duke of York left with the queen—Sir Edward Herbert and sir G. Ratcliff have great interest in him—They recommend to him the pattern of the duke of Lorrain—The duke of Lorrain's character—The king believed in France to be dead—The duke of York acquaints his mother that he will go to Brussels: whither he goes—His two counsellors propose a match for him with the duke of Lorrain's bastard daughter——The duke visits his sister at the Hague—Dr. Cosins forbid to officiate to the protestants in the queen's family at Paris—The chancellor speaks with the queen about it—The queen's answer—The chancellor confers with Mr. Montague about it—The chancellor finds the duke of York at Breda; and the factions of the duke's family there—The duke returns to Paris to the queen—The king's affairs in Scotland—The king withdraws towards the Highlands; which was called the Start—But is persuaded to return the next day—The king better used afterwards by Argyle—A parliament summoned in the king's name—It meets at Stirling, and reconciles the lords—An army raised, of which the king is general—The coronation—Cromwell endeavours to fight the king's army—Both armies near each other in the months of June and July—Cromwell gains a pass, and gets behind the king—The king resolves to march into England—The marquis of Argyle only dissuaded it, and stayed behind, and retired to his house—Cromwell's resolutions and counsels upon this news—Orders Lambert to follow the king with a body of horse—Leaves Monk in Scotland—And follows the king three days after—Massey sent to march before the king—A committee of ministers in the king's army, who ruin all—The earl of Derby met the king in Lancashire—Lambert follows, but is forced to retire—At Warrington the earl of Derby parts from the king, and is sent to Lancashire with other officers to raise forces—David Lesley's saying concerning the Scottish army—The king summons Shrewsbury in vain—The king marches to Worcester—Where he is proclaimed—The ill success of the earl of Derby—The lord Withrington killed upon the place—The lord Withrington's character—And sir Thomas Tildesley's—Transactions of the king at Worcester—General Massey wounded in an attempt—The ill disposition of the king's officers—The king's defeat at Worcester 3d of September—Duke Hamilton died of his wounds—His character—The king's retreat, and concealment—David Lesley and the rest taken—The king's foot driven prisoners to London, and sold to the plantations—The earl of Derby's character and execution—The king came to Rouen in November—The particulars of the king's escape, as the author had them from the king himself——The king meets captain Careless in a wood, who persuades him to get up into an oak—Thence he came to a cottage nine miles off, where he lay in a barn—Thence he is conducted to another house twelve miles off: thence to another; and so to others—Mr. Hudleston sent to him by Careless; who brought him to the lord Wilmot —The king brought by him to Mr. Lane's house—Here it was resolved the king should go to Mr. Norton's; riding before Mrs. Lane —They came safe to Mr. Norton's through Bristol—The king is known to the butler of the house—The king goes to colonel Francis Windham's house—Thence he is brought to an inn near Lyme; and a ship hired by captain Ellison—The ship failed by an accident; and the king left the inn—Like to be discovered by a smith shoeing their horses—The king goes back to the colonel's house—The king sends Wilmot for Robert Philips—Who conducts him to a place near Salisbury—Dr. Hinchman meets the king on the plains; and conducts him to Heale, Mrs. Hyde's house—Thence to a house in Sussex near Bright-helmstone; where a bark was provided by colonel Gunter—He arrives in Normandy in a small creek, in November—The king sends to the chancellor of the exchequer to repair to him at Paris—The chancellor of the exchequer comes to him in Christmas at Paris—Where he receives from the king this account of his majesty's deliverance—The affairs of Ireland at this time—Ireton made lord deputy by Cromwell—The marquis of Ormond's condition there—Owen Row O'Neile died, as he was going to join with the marquis of Ormond—A mutiny in Limerick, whence the marquis of Ormond escaped—The popish bishops make an assembly, and publish a declaration against the English—They declare to the lord lieutenant they will no longer submit to him; and require him to commit the government to a Roman catholic—The marquis of Ormond makes the marquis of Clanrickard his deputy—The marquis of Ormond embarks for France, and waits on the king at Paris after his majesty's escape from Worcester—Love, a presbyterian minister, executed—Cromwell causes several high courts of justice to be erected—The king's necessities at Paris—The friendship between the marquis of Ormond and the chancellor of the exchequer—The necessities and factions of the duke of York's family—The king appoints a new council—Sir John Berkley pretends to the mastership of the wards—The king denies it him—Whereupon sir John breaks with the chancellor—Deliberation in the council, whether the duke of York should go into the French army—The duke goes to the army—The assignation of six thousand livres by the month settled upon the king by the French court—How the money was disposed that was sent the king from Moscow and Poland—The ministers of Charenton press the king to come to their church; and are seconded by the lord Jermyn.—Dr. Steward dies presently after the king's return into France—The chancellor of the exchequer dissuaded him from it—The king declared he would not go—Middleton and Massey, prisoners in the Tower, designed to be tried by a high court of justice —Middleton makes his escape into France—And Massey escapes—An account of Scotland brought to the king by a Scottish vicar that Middleton brought with him—The requests to the king of his friends there—The king appoints the chancellor of the exchequer to make all despatches for Scotland—The marquis of Ormond's and the chancellor's opinion concerning the king's affairs at that time—The chancellor of the exchequer desires the king not to employ him in the Scottish affairs—The king's reply to him—The chancellor submits; and was accordingly trusted in these affairs—The troubles of the French court about this time—The king of England and his mother remove to St. Germain's—Solicitations for places in the king's court—The lord Byron, the duke's governor, dies—Sir John Berkley designs mademoiselle de Longueville for the duke's wife—The queen consults the chancellor of the exchequer about the marriage—Mademoiselle likewise thought on for the king—The marquis of Ormond's and the chancellor of the exchequer's exceptions against this—Both these designs come to nothing—The parliament sent ambassadors to Holland to invite them to a strict union, Saint-John being the chief—They return without any effect—The parliament thereupon make the act of navigation—Orders from the admiralty in Holland to their fleet, "not to strike to the English"—The war begun upon this account with the Dutch—The States send two ambassadors into England about it—The parliament's answer to them —Blake takes their fishing busses, and their guard-ships—Sir G. Ayscue takes or sinks thirty sail of their merchants: fights the Dutch fleet near Plymouth—The king at Paris proposes to monsieur Borril, the Dutch ambassador, that he would join his interest with theirs —Thanks returned to the king by the States, but his proposal laid aside—The English seize on a French fleet going to the relief of Dunkirk—The French send an ambassador into England—In February Blake engaged the Dutch fleet; who are beaten—The Dutch send again to the parliament for peace—Cromwell never zealous for this war with the Dutch, but governed in it by Saint-John—Guernsey and Jersey had been now reduced—Sir George Carteret defended this as long as he could, and Elizabeth castle—The king sends him orders to make conditions—The foreign plantations also were subdued—The Barbadoes delivered up—And Virginia—Ireton died in Limerick of the plague—Ludlow succeeds him in the charge of the army—The character of Ireton—The ill condition of the marquis of Clanrickard's affairs in Ireland—The rebels resolve to invite the duke of Lorrain thither—Commissioners sent to him to Brussels—The duke sends an abbot into Ireland to be informed of the state of it—The marquis renounces any consent to the treaty—The abbot returns to the duke; whereupon the duke gives over the negociation —The lord Clanrickard discovers a correspondence managed by a friar between the popish Irish clergy and Ludlow—He sends the earl of Castlehaven to give an account of all to the king—The king sends him leave to retire—The marquis gets a pass from Ludlow, and goes into England, and dies within a year.

THE marquis of Argyle, who did not believe that the king would ever have ventured into Scotland upon the conditions he had sent, was surprised with the account the commissioners had given him, "that his majesty resolved to embark the next day; that he would leave all his chaplains and his other servants behind him, and only deferred to take the covenant himself till he came thither, with a resolution to satisfy the kirk if they pressed it." Thereupon he immediately despatched away another vessel with new propositions, which the commissioners were to insist upon, and not to consent to the king's coming into that kingdom, without he likewise consented to those. But that vessel met not with the king's fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the parliament, which attended to intercept the king, had held its course more northward, where there is plenty of good harbours; and so had put into a harbour near Stirling, that is, within a day's journey of it, but where there was no town nearer for his majesty's reception, or where there was any accommodation even for very ordinary passengers.

From thence notice was sent to the council of the king's arrival: the first welcome he received was a new demand "that he would sign the covenant himself, before he set his foot on shore;" which all about him pressed him to do: and he now found, that he had made haste thither upon very unskilful imaginations[1] and presumptions: yet he consented unto what they so imperiously required, that he might have leave to put himself into the hands of those who resolved nothing less than to serve him. The lords of the other party, who had prevailed with him to submit to all that he had done, quickly found that they had deceived both him and themselves, and that nobody had any authority but those men who were their mortal enemies. So that they would not expose themselves to be imprisoned, or to be removed from the king; but, with his majesty's leave, and having given him the best advice they could, what he should do for himself, and what he should do for them, they put themselves on shore before the king disembarked; and found means to go to those places where they might be some time concealed, and which were like to be at distance enough from the king. And shortly after duke Hamilton retired to the island of Arran, which belonged to himself; where he had a little house well enough accommodated, the island being for the most part inhabited with wild beasts: Lautherdale concealed himself amongst his friends, taking care both to be well informed of all that should pass about the king, and to receive their advice upon any occasions.

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[1] For suppositions.—W.

The king was received by the marquis of Argyle with all the outward respect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the English servants he had of any quality were removed from his person, the duke of Buckingham only excepted. The rest, for the most part, were received into the houses of some persons of honour, who lived at a distance from the court, and were themselves under a cloud for their known affections, and durst only attend [the king to kiss his hand, and then retired to their houses, that they might give no occasion of jealousy; others of his servants were not suffered to remain in the kingdom, but were forced presently to re-embark themselves for Holland; amongst which was Daniel O'Neile, who hath been often mentioned before, and who came from the marquis of Ormond into Holland, just when his majesty was ready to embark, and so waited upon him; and was no sooner known to be with his majesty, (as he was a person very generally known,) but he was apprehended by order from the council, for being an Irishman, and having been in arms on the late king's behalf in the late war; for which they were not without some discourse of putting him to death; but they did immediately banish him the kingdom, and obliged him to sign a paper, by which he consented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the kingdom.

They sent away likewise Mr. Robert Long, who was his principal, if not only, secretary of state, and had very much persuaded his going thither; and sir Edward Walker, who was clerk of the council, and had been secretary at war during the late war, and some others, upon the like exceptions. They placed other servants of all conditions about the king, but principally relied upon their clergy; who were in such a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of instructing him in religion: and so they obliged him to their constant hours of their long prayers, and made him observe the Sundays with more rigour than the Jews accustomed to do; and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days,[1] and if his looks and gestures did not please them, whilst all their prayers and sermons, at which he was compelled to be present, were libels, and bitter invectives against all the actions of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignity.

He was not present in their councils, nor were the results thereof communicated to him; nor was he, in the least degree, communicated with, in any part of the government: yet they made great show of outward reverence to him, and even the chaplains, when they used rudeness and barbarity in their reprehensions and reproaches, approached him still with bended knees, and in the humblest postures. There was never a better courtier than Argyle: who made all possible address to make himself gracious to the king, entertained him with very pleasant discourses, with such insinuations, that the king did not only very well like his conversation, but often believed that he had a mind to please and gratify him: but then, when his majesty made any attempt to get some of his servants about him, or to reconcile the two factions, that the kingdom might be united, he gathered up his countenance, and retired from him, without ever yielding to any one proposition that was made to him by his majesty. In a word, the king's table was well served; there he sat in majesty, waited upon with decency: he had good horses to ride abroad to take the air, and was then well attended; and, in all public appearances, seemed to want nothing that was due to a great king. In all other respects, with reference to power to oblige or gratify any man, to dispose or order any thing, or himself to go to any other place than was assigned to him, he had nothing of a prince, but might very well be looked upon as a prisoner.

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[1] This mad zeal, which in a common degree would have been most irksome and mortifying to the tempers of these two licentious young men, (the king and duke of Bucks,) was carried by those hypocritic wretches to such ridiculous and burlesque excesses, that they repaid those two young men, for what they suffered by fasts and long sermons, with mirth and laughter without end, when retired in secret.—W.

But that which was of state and lustre made most noise, and was industriously transmitted into all nations and states; the other of disrespect or restraint was not communicated; and if it could not be entirely concealed, it was considered only as a faction between particular great men, who contended to get the power into their hands, that they might the more notoriously and eminently serve that prince whom they all equally acknowledged. The king's condition seemed wonderfully advanced, and his being possessed of a kingdom without a rival, in which there was no appearance of an enemy, looked like an earnest for the recovery of the other two, and, for the present, as a great addition of power to him in his kingdom of Ireland, by a conjunction and absolute submission of all the Scots in Ulster to the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant there.

All men who had dissuaded his majesty's repair into Scotland were looked upon as very weak politicians, or as men who opposed the public good, because they were excluded, and might not be suffered to act any part in the adventure; and they who had advanced the design valued themselves exceedingly upon their activity in that service. The States of Holland thought they had merited much in suffering their ships to transport him, and so being ministerial to his greatness; which they hoped would be remembered; and they gave all countenance to the Scottish merchants and factors who lived in their dominions, and some secret credit, that they might send arms and ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the king's service, into that kingdom. France itself looked very cheerfully upon the change; congratulated the queen with much ceremony, and many professions; and took pains to have it thought and believed, that they had had a share in the counsel, and contributed very much to the reception the king found in Scotland, by their influence upon Argyle and his party. And it hath been mentioned before, how great a reputation this little dawning of power, how clouded soever, gave to the ambassadors in Spain, and had raised them from such a degree of disrespect, as was nearest to contempt, to the full dignity and estimation in that court that was due to the station in which they were.

There fell out there an accident at this time, which was a great manifestation of the affection of that court, and indeed of the nation. As don Alonzo de Cardinas had used all the credit he had, to dispose that court to a good correspondence with the parliament, so he had employed as much care to incline those in England to have a confidence in the affection of his master, and assured them, "that if they would send an ambassador or other minister into Spain, he should find a very good reception." The parliament, in the infancy of their commonwealth, had more inclination to make a friendship with Spain than with France, having at that time a very great prejudice to the cardinal; and therefore, upon this encouragement from don Alonzo, they resolved to send an envoy to Madrid; and made choice of one Ascham, a scholar, who had written a book to determine in what time, and after how many years, the allegiance which is due from subjects to their sovereigns, comes to be determined after a conquest; and that from that term it ought to be paid to those who had subdued them: a speculation they thought fit to cherish.

This man, unacquainted with business, and unskilled in language, attended by three others, the one a renegado Franciscan friar, who had been bred in Spain, and was well versed in the language; another, who was to serve in the condition of a secretary; and the third, an inferior fellow for any service, arrived all at Seville or Cadiz in an English merchant's ship: of which don Alonzo gave such timely notice, that he was received and entertained by the chief magistrate at his landing, until they gave notice of it to the court. The town was quickly full of the rumour, that an ambassador was landed from England, and would be received there; which nobody seemed to be well pleased with. And the ambassadors expostulated with don Lewis de Haro with some warmth, "that his catholic majesty should be the first Christian prince that would receive an ambassador from the odious and infamous murderers of a Christian king, his brother and ally; which no other prince had yet done, out of the detestation of that horrible parricide." And therefore they desired him, "that Spain would not give so horrid an example to the other parts of the world." Don Lewis assured them, "that there was no such thing as an ambassador coming from England, nor had the king any purpose to receive any: that it was true, they were informed that there was an English gentleman landed at Cales, and come to Seville; who said, he was sent from the parliament with letters for the king; which was testified by a letter from don Alonzo de Cardinas to the duke of Medina Celi; who thereupon had given order for his entertainment at Seville, till the king should give further order: that it was not possible for the king to refuse to receive the letter, or to see the man who brought it; who pretended no kind of character: that having an ambassador residing in England to preserve the trade and commerce between the two nations, they did believe, that this messenger might be sent with some propositions from the English merchants for the advancement of that trade; and if they should refuse to hear what he said, it might give a just offence, and destroy all the commerce; which would be a great damage to both nations."

That this new agent might come securely to Madrid, an old officer of the army was sent from Seville to accompany him thither; who came with him in the coach, and gave notice every night to don Lewis of their advance. There were at that time, over and above the English merchants, many officers and soldiers in Madrid, who had served in the Spanish armies, both in Catalonia and in Portugal; and these men had consulted amongst themselves how they might kill this fellow, who came as an agent from the new republic of England; and half a dozen of them, having notice of the day he was to come into the town, which was generally discoursed of, rode out of the town to meet him; but, missing him, they returned again, and found that he had entered into it by another way; and having taken a view of his lodging, they met again the next morning; and finding, accidentally, one of the ambassadors' servants in the streets, they persuaded him to go with them, and so went to the house where Ascham lodged; and, without asking any questions, walked directly up the stairs into his chamber, leaving a couple of their number at the door of the street, lest, upon any noise in the house, that door might be shut upon them. They who went up drew their swords; and besides their intentions, in disorder, killed the friar as well as the agent; and so returned to their companions with their swords naked and bloody, and some foolish expressions of triumph, as if they had performed a very gallant and a justifiable service. Notwithstanding all which, they might have dispersed themselves, and been secure, the people were so little concerned to inquire what they had done. But they being in confusion, and retaining no composed thoughts about them, finding the door of a little chapel open, went in thither for sanctuary: only he who was in the service of the ambassadors separated himself from the rest, and went into the house of the Venetian ambassador. By this time the people of the house where the man lay had gone up into the chamber; where they found two dead, and the other two crept, in a terrible fright, under the bed; and the magistrates and people were about the church, and talking with and examining the persons who were there: and the rumour was presently divulged about the town, "that one of the English ambassadors was killed."

They were at that time entering into their coach to take the air, according to an appointment which they had made the day before. When they were informed of what had passed, and that Harry Progers, who was their servant, had been in the action, and was retired to the house of the Venetian ambassador, they were in trouble and perplexity; dismissed their coach, and returned to their lodging. Though they abhorred the action that was committed, they foresaw, the presence of one of their own servants in it, and even some passionate words they had used, in their expostulation with don Lewis, against the reception of such a messenger, as if "the king their master had too many subjects in that place, for such a fellow to appear there with any security," would make it be believed by many, that the attempt had not been made without their consent or privity. In this trouble of mind, they immediately writ a letter to don Lewis de Haro, to express the sense they had of this unfortunate rash action; "of which, they hoped, he did believe, if they had had any notice or suspicion, they would have prevented it, by exposing their own persons." Don Lewis returned them a very dry answer; "That he could not imagine that they could have a hand in so foul an assassination in the court," (for all Madrid is called and looked upon as the court,) "of a person under the immediate protection of the king: however, that it was an action so unheard of, and so dishonourable to the king, that his majesty was resolved to have it examined to the bottom, and that exemplary justice should be done upon the offenders; that his own ambassador in England might be in great danger upon this murder; and that they would send an express presently thither, to satisfy the parliament how much his catholic majesty detested and was offended with this barbarous murder, and resolved to do justice upon it; and if his ambassador underwent any inconvenience there, they were not to wonder if his majesty were severe here;" and so left it to them to imagine that their own persons might not be safe.

But they knew the temper of the court too well, to have the least apprehension of that: yet they were a little surprised, when they first saw the multitude of people gathered together about their house, upon the first news of the action; insomuch that the street before their house, which was the broadest in Madrid, (the Calle de Alcala,) was so thronged, that men could hardly pass. But they were quickly out of that apprehension, being assured, that the jealousy that one of the English ambassadors had suffered violence had brought that multitude together; which they found to be true; for they no sooner shewed themselves in a balcony to the people, but they saluted them with great kindness, prayed for the king their master, cursed and reviled the murderers of his father; and so departed. They who had betaken themselves to the chapel were, the next day or the second, taken from thence by a principal officer after examination, and sent to the prison: the other was not inquired after; but, having concealed himself for ten or twelve days, he went out of the town in the night; and, without any interruption or trouble, went into France.

Of all the courts in Christendom, Madrid is that where ambassadors and public ministers receive the greatest respect, which, besides the honour and punctuality of that people, bred up in the observation of distances and order, proceeds from the excellent method the ambassadors have of living with mutual respect towards each other, and in mutual concernment for each other's honour and privileges: so that, if any ambassador, in himself or his servants, receive any affront or disrespect, all the other ambassadors repair to him, and offer their service and interposition; by which means they are not only preserved from any invasion by any private and particular insolence, but even from some acts of power, which the court itself hath sometime thought fit to exercise, upon an extraordinary occasion, towards a minister of whom they had no regard. All are united on the behalf of the character; and will not suffer that to be done towards one, which, by the consequence, may reflect upon all.

It cannot be imagined, with what a general compassion all the ambassadors looked upon these unhappy gentlemen, who had involved themselves by their rashness in so much peril. They came to the English ambassadors to advise and consult what might be done to preserve them, every one offering his assistance. The action could in no degree be justified; all that could be urged and insisted upon in their behalf, was the privilege of sanctuary; "They had betaken themselves to the church; and the taking them from thence, by what authority soever, was a violation of the rights and immunities of the church, which, by the law of the kingdom, was ever defended with all tenderness." So that, before the guilt of the blood could be examined, the prisoners desired "that their privilege might be examined, and that they might have counsel assigned them to that purpose;" which was granted; and several arguments were made upon the matter of law before the judges; who were favourable enough to the prisoners. The king's counsel urged, "that in case of assassination the privilege of sanctuary was never allowed," (which is true,) and cited many precedents of late years in Madrid itself, where, for less crimes than of blood, men had been taken out of the sanctuary, and tried, and executed. The English ambassadors thought not fit to appear on their behalf, and yet were not willing that the new republic should receive so much countenance from that court, as would have resulted from putting those gentlemen to death, as if they had killed a public minister. The pope's nuncio, Julio Rospigliosi, who was afterwards Clement IX. could not, according to the style of the Roman court, either give or receive visits from the English ambassadors; but they performed civilities to each other by messages, and passed mutual salutations, with all respect to each other, as they met abroad. And the Venetian ambassador brought them frequent assurances, "that the nuncio had spoken very effectually to the king, and to don Lewis, for the redelivery of the prisoners to the church, and pressed it so hard upon the conscience of the king, that he had some promise that they should not suffer."

In the mean time, thundering letters came from the parliament, with great menaces what they would do, if exemplary justice was not inflicted upon those who had murdered their envoy; and don Alonzo urged it, as if "he thought himself in danger till full satisfaction should be given in that particular;" all which for the present made deep impression, so that they knew not what to do; the king often declaring, "that he would not infringe the privilege of the church, and so undergo the censure of the pope, for any advantage he could receive with reference to any of his dominions." In the end, (that the discourse of this affair may not be resumed again hereafter,) after a long imprisonment, (for during the ambassadors' stay they would not bring them to any trial, lest they might seem to do any thing upon their solicitation,) the prisoners were proceeded against as soon, or shortly after the ambassadors had left Madrid, and were all condemned to die; and as soon as the sentence was declared, all the prisoners were again delivered into the same church; where they remained many days, having provisions of victuals sent to them by many persons of quality, until they had all opportunity to make their escape, which was very successfully done by all but one; who, being the only protestant amongst them, was more maliciously looked after and watched, and was followed, and apprehended after he had made three days journey from Madrid, and carried back thither, and put to death: which was all the satisfaction the parliament could obtain in that affair; and is an instance how far that people was from any affection to those of England in their hearts, how much soever they complied with them out of the necessity of their fortune.

When some weeks were passed after that unlucky accident, the ambassadors went to confer with don Lewis upon some other occurrence, with no purpose of mentioning any thing of the prisoners. Don Lewis spoke of it in a manner they did not expect; one expression was, "*Yo tengo invidia de estos cavaleros, &c.* I envy those gentlemen for having done so noble an action, how penal soever it may prove to them, to revenge the blood of their king. Whereas," he said, "the king his master wanted such resolute subjects; otherwise he would never have lost a kingdom, as he had done Portugal, for want of one brave man; who, by taking away the life of the usurper, might at any time, during the first two years, have put an end to that rebellion." Though the privileges of ambassadors were much greater in that court than in any other, and that they lived much better towards each other, than ambassadors used to do in any other court, yet they used to communicate those privileges more easily, and to admit men to usurp that title, who had no pretence to it. Not that the king permitted them to cover, which they never affected, nor could he ever have endured; but in all other respects they were treated as such; and the ambassadors were obliged to do so, except they were under some obligation to the contrary. There were at that time two instances of that kind, though upon different negociations. The one was in the count of Swaffenburgh, who came, as they said, ambassador from the archduke Leopold, who was only a prince by appellation, without any territory, and was then actually in the service of the king of Spain, as governor of the Low Countries, though under such a restrained commission, that the count of Fuenfaldagna, with two or three other Spanish counsellors, had authority in many cases to control his determinations. The count of Swaffenburgh was his chief servant and confident; and being a man of good parts and spirit, used to enter into sharp contests and disputes with those ministers in the right and behalf of his master; whereupon he was become suspected and disliked in the court at Madrid, and was now sent by the archduke, not only to insist upon the rights of his place, and to complain of the infringement of them, but to justify himself, and to wipe off those aspersions which had been cast upon him; and yet he was received under the title and style of ambassador, treated with *excellenza*, and waited upon by one of the king's coaches, and upon the day of his audience rode to the court attended by all the other ambassadors' coaches; and because they neither liked his person or his business, and resolved not to gratify him in any thing he came about, or desired, they used him with the more ceremony and respect; and there being a sudden accident one day, which looked like an affront to him, when, in a crowd of coaches upon one of those solemn days, when the king and all the court and all ambassadors use to take the air, in a little field that can hardly receive all the company, the count's coach stood where the duke of Alberquerque had a mind to pass; and the other coachman refusing to yield the way, the duke alighted out of his coach, and with sword in the scabbard struck him over the head, the count being himself in the coach, which the duke protested not to have known, till after he had struck his coachman; when the count bade his coachman drive out of the field; and, as soon as he was retired out of the company, he sent a gentleman to the duke, to let him know that he expected to see him with his sword in his hand. But the business was taken notice of before, and the king had commanded the duke of Alberquerque to his house; and it being so unusual a thing, and unsuitable to the Spanish gravity, for a grandee to go out of his coach to strike a coachman, it was looked upon as a purposed and designed injury. All the ambassadors met the next morning at the count's lodging, to offer their service, and to consult what was to be done, to repair their character, but found the condé most inclined and resolved to do justice to himself; but the punctuality of the court prevented any further pursuit, by obliging the duke of Alberquerque first to write to the count, and to protest that he did not know that he was in the coach, nor had the least thought to affront him, and then to go to his lodgings, and ask his pardon; both which he performed: which was an imposition and condescension that the grandees looked upon as very extraordinary.

The other, who was received and countenanced as an ambassador, was the marquis of Lusignon, who was sent by the prince of Condé, and was commonly called the prince of Condé's ambassador, who was likewise attended by one of the king's coaches. It is true, he had not so formal an audience as the count of Swaffenburgh had, but intimation was given to all the ambassadors, that the king expected that they should visit him; which all did, but the English ambassadors, who did not think fit, both in respect of their master or themselves, to give such umbrage to France, and so forbore to shew any respect or civility towards him. This unhappy gentleman, after a journey or two in that negociation to Madrid, was taken in his return, and after some months of imprisonment, had his process made, and lost his head.

By this time, the ill news from Scotland brought a new mortification upon the ambassadors, which the king himself had undergone there in a more severe degree, and he quickly found that he had made haste thither upon very unskilful imaginations and presumptions.

Whether, when the marquis of Argyle first knew that the king would venture himself into Scotland, he suspected his own strength, and so sent for his friend Cromwell to assist him; or whether it seemed more reasonable to the parliament, when it was assured of the king's being there, to visit him in that kingdom, than to expect a visitation from him, is not enough clear at this time. But as soon as the king was in Scotland, Cromwell, being sent for by the parliament, left what remained to be done in Ireland to Ireton, (who had married his daughter,) and made him deputy; and transported himself into England; where the parliament, not without great opposition from all the presbyterian party, resolved to send an army into Scotland. Many opposed it, as they thought it an unjust and unprofitable war, and knew it must be a very expensive one; and others, because it would keep up and increase the power and authority of the army in England; which was already found to be very grievous.

This resolution produced another great alteration: Fairfax, who had hitherto worn the name of general, declared positively that he would not command the army against Scotland. The presbyterians said, "it was because he thought the war unlawful, in regard it was against those of the same religion;" but his friends would have it believed, that he would not fight against the king. Hereupon Cromwell was chosen general; which made no alteration in the army; which he had modelled to his own mind before, and commanded as absolutely. But in all other places he grew more absolute and more imperious; he discountenanced and suppressed the presbyterians in all places; who had been supported by Fairfax. The independents had all credit about him; and the churches and pulpits were open to all kind of people who would shew their gifts there; and a general distraction and confusion in religion covered the whole kingdom; which raised as general a discontent in the minds of the people, who, finding no ease from the burdens they had so long sustained, but an increase of the taxes and impositions every day, grew weary of their new government; and heartily prayed, that their general might never return from Scotland, but that, he being destroyed there, the king might return victorious into London. The bitterness and persecution against their brethren in England, and the old animosity they had long borne against the person of Cromwell, made those in authority in that kingdom resolve to defend themselves against his invasion, and to draw together a very numerous body of men well provided, and supplied with all things necessary but courage and conduct. They were so careful in the modelling this army, that they suffered neither officer or soldiers, who had been in the engagement of duke Hamilton, or who gave the least occasion to be suspected to wish well to the king or to the Hamiltonian party, to be listed or received into their service. So that they had only some old discredited officers, who, being formerly thought unworthy of command, had stuck close to Argyle and to the party of the kirk. The truth is, the whole army was under the government of a committee of the kirk and the state; in which the ministers exercised the sole authority, and prayed and preached against the vices of the court, and the impiety and tyranny of Cromwell, equally; and promised their army victory over the enemy as positively, and in as confident terms, as if God himself had directed them to declare it. The king desired that he might command this army, at least run the fortune of it. But they were hardly prevailed with to give him leave once to see it; and, after he had been in it three or four hours, upon the observation that the common soldiers seemed to be much pleased to see him, they caused him to return, and the next day carried him to a place at a greater distance from the army; declaring, "that they found the soldiers too much inclined to put their confidence in the arm of flesh; whereas their hope and dependence was to be only in God; and they were most assured of victory by the prayers and piety of the kirk."

In August Cromwell entered Scotland, and marched without any opposition till he came within less than a day's journey of Edinburgh; where he found the Scottish army encamped upon a very advantageous ground; and he made his quarters as near as he could conveniently, and yet with disadvantages enough. For the country was so destroyed behind him, and the passes so guarded before, that he was compelled to send for all his provision for horse and foot from England by sea; and Cromwell being seized upon by a fever, which held him about six weeks, during which time the army lay still; insomuch as the army was reduced to great straits; and the Scots really believed, that they had them all at their mercy, except such as would embark on board their ships. But as soon as Cromwell had recovered a little strength, his army begun to remove, and seemed to provide for their march. Whether that march was to retire out of so barren a country for want of provisions, (which no doubt were very scarce; and the season of the year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary supplies by sea, for it was now the month of September,) or whether that motion was only to draw the Scots from the advantageous post of which they were possessed, is not yet understood. But it was confessed on all sides, that, if the Scots had remained within their trenches, and sent parties of horse to have followed the English army closely, they must have so disordered them, that they would have left their cannon and all their heavy carriage behind them, besides the danger the foot must have been in. But the Scots did not intend to part with them so easily;[1] they doubted not but to have the spoil of the whole army. And therefore they no sooner discerned that the English were upon their march, but they decamped, and followed with their whole body all the night following, and found themselves in the morning within a small distance of the enemy: for Cromwell was quickly advertised that the Scottish army was dislodged, and marched after him; and thereupon he made a stand, and put his men in good order. The Scots found they were not upon so clear a chase as they imagined, and placed themselves again upon such a side of a hill, as they believed the English would not have the courage to attack them there.

But Cromwell knew them too well to fear them upon any ground, when there were no trenches or fortifications to keep him from them; and therefore he made haste to charge them on all sides, upon what advantage ground soever they stood. Their horse did not sustain one charge; but fled, and were pursued with a great execution. The foot depended much upon their ministers, who preached, and prayed, and assured them of the victory, till the English were upon them; and some of their preachers were knocked in the head, whilst they were promising the victory. Though there was so little resistance made, that Cromwell lost very few men by that day's service, yet the execution was very terrible upon the enemy; the whole body of the foot being, upon the matter, cut in pieces; no quarter was given till they were weary of killing; so that there were between five and six thousand dead upon the place; and very few, but they who escaped by the heels of their horse, were without terrible wounds; of which very many died shortly after; especially such of their ministers who were not killed upon the place, as very many were, had very notable marks about the head, and the face, that any body might know that they were not hurt by chance, or in the crowd, but by very good will. All the cannon, ammunition, carriages, and baggage, were entirely taken, and Cromwell with his victorious army marched directly to Edinburgh; where he found plenty of all things which he wanted, and good accommodation for the refreshing his army, which stood in need of it.

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[1] Cromwell could not draw the Scottish army from their advantageous post. He knew that the army was entirely governed by their Mar John's. He therefore used this stratagem to provoke them. He entered into an epistolary dispute with them, in which he so heartily abused them, and advanced independency so high, that they were impatient to attack him, and so brought the army down upon him at Dunbar; which was the very thing Cromwell wanted.—W.

Never victory was attended with less lamentations: for as Cromwell had great argument of triumph in the total defeat and destruction of the only army that was in Scotland; which defeat had put a great part of that kingdom, and the chief city of it, under his obedience; so the king, who was then at St. Johnston's, was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a prison the next day; which had been only a stricter confinement than he suffered already: for the lord Lorne, eldest son to the marquis of Argyle, being captain of his guard, had so strict a care of him both night and day, that his majesty could not go any whither without his leave. But, after this defeat, they all looked upon the king as one they might stand in need of: they permitted his servants, who had been sequestered from him from his arrival in the kingdom, to attend and wait upon him, and begun to talk of calling a parliament, and of a time for the king's coronation; which had not hitherto been spoken of. Some ministers begun to preach obedience to the king; the officers, who had been cashiered for their malignity, talked aloud of "the miscarriages in the government, and that the kingdom was betrayed to the enemy for want of confidence in the king, who alone could preserve the nation." They of the council seemed not to have so absolute a dependence upon the marquis of Argyle, but spoke more freely than they had used to do; and the marquis applied himself more to the king, and to those about him: so that the king did, in a good degree, enjoy the fruit of this victory, as well as Cromwell, though his majesty's advantage was discerned by a few men only, and those reduced into an obscure quarter of the kingdom; but the other made the éclat.

The destruction of the only army, and the possessing of Edinburgh, was looked upon, in all places, as the entire conquest of the whole kingdom.

Don Alonzo made haste to send the news into Spain of "the total and irrecoverable defeat of the king; that he was driven into the Highlands; from whence he would be compelled to fly, as soon as he could get means to escape: that the republic was now settled, and no more fear or hope of the king:" the effect of all which the ambassadors quickly found at Madrid, by the carriage and countenance of that king and the council; though it cannot be denied that the common people appeared to have a much more generous sense of the alteration, than the others did. The ambassadors received shortly a full advertisement of the truth; and "that the king thought his condition much improved by the defeat;" and they used all the means they could, by several audiences, to inform the king of Spain and don Lewis of the truth; and "that they were misinformed, as if the army overthrown was the king's; whereas they were indeed as much his enemies, as Cromwell's was." But in this they could obtain no credit, and all ways were taken to make them perceive, that it was heartily wished they were gone; which they were resolved to take no notice of.

In the end, one morning, the secretary of state came to them from the king; and told them, "that they had been now above a year in that court, where they had been well treated, notwithstanding some miscarriages, which might very justly have incensed his catholic majesty," (mentioning the death of Ascham;) "that they were extraordinary ambassadors, and so needed not any letters of revocation; that they had received answers to all they had proposed, and were at liberty to depart; which his catholic majesty desired they would do, since their presence in the court would be very prejudicial to his affairs." This unexpected and unusual message, delivered ungracefully enough by an old man, who, notwithstanding his office, was looked upon with little reverence to his parts, made them believe "that he had mistaken his message, at least that he had delivered it with less courtly circumstances than he ought to have done." And therefore they returned no other answer, than "that they would attend don Lewis de Haro, and understand from him the king's pleasure." The next day, they sent for an audience to don Lewis; whom they found with a less open countenance than he used to have; nor did he appear any thing more courtly than the secretary had done; but told them, that there were orders sent to such a person (whom he named) to prepare their present; which should be ready within very few days; and pressed them very plainly, and without any regard to the season of the year, it being then towards the end of January, to use all possible expedition for their departure, as a thing that, even in that respect, did exceedingly concern the service of the king. This made the ambassadors imagine, which was likewise reported, that there was a formal ambassador upon his way from England, and that the court would be no more liable to the like accidents. But they knew afterwards, that the cause of all this haste was, that they might bring into the town as many pictures, and other choice and rich furniture, as did load eighteen mules; which, as was said before, don Alonzo had bought of the king's goods, and then sent to the Groyne, and which they did not then think could be decently brought to the palace, whilst the ambassadors should continue and remain in the town.

This injunction to leave Madrid, in so unseasonable a time of the year, was very severe to the ambassadors who knew not whither to go. The lord Cottington was at this time seventy-six years of age, once or twice in a year troubled with the gout, in other respects of great vigour of body and mind; nor did there appear in his natural parts any kind of decay. He had resolved, when he first proposed this embassy to the king, and, it may be, it was the chief reason of proposing it, that, if there should be no door open to let him return into England, by the time that his embassy should expire, he would remain and die in Spain. But he did then believe that he should have found another kind of entertainment there than he had done. He had, without doubt, deserved very well from that nation, having always performed those offices towards them, which made him looked upon at home as too well affected to that people, which, together with his constant opposition of the French, had rendered him very ungracious to the queen: yet there were some seasons, in which his credit and authority was not great enough to obtain all things for them which they desired, and expected; as when their fleet, under the command of Oquendo, about the year 1635 or 1636, had been assaulted in the Downs, and defeated by the Dutch fleet, for want of that protection which they thought the king might have given to them. And it is probable their ambassadors, who were then in England, whereof don Alonzo was one, did not find that readiness and alacrity in him to appear in their service, as they had formerly done; he very well knowing, that the being solicitous for them, in that conjuncture, might do himself harm, and could do them no good. But these omissions were now remembered, and all his services forgotten: so that (as hath been touched before) his reception, from the first hour of his coming last thither, was very cold both from the king and the court. And though he was now willing to resume his former resolution of staying there; yet the treatment he had received, and this last farewell, made him doubt, very reasonably, whether he should be permitted to stay there or not.

There was another circumstance, which was necessary to his residing in Spain, in which he met with some difficulties that he had not foreseen, and which did exceedingly perplex him; and which he plainly enough discerned, and knew to be the true cause of all the discountenance he had met with in that court, (though he was willing the other ambassador, who knew nothing of it, should believe that it proceeded from what had passed in England,) which was then remembered in the discourse of the court, and was the true cause of the general prejudice to him there. He had been formerly reconciled in that kingdom to the church of Rome, and had constantly gone to the mass there; and declaring himself afterwards in England to be of the religion of the church of England, he was apostatized from the other; which, in that country, is looked upon as such a brand, as the infamy of it can never be wiped out; and this indeed was the reason of that king's so notable aversion from him. The truth is, he had never made any inquiry into religion to inform himself, but had conformed to that which the province he held obliged him to; and though he could never get the reputation in England of being well affected to that church, and was always looked upon as most inclined to the Roman, yet he convinced those who would have taken advantage of that guilt, by being present at prayers and sermons, and sometimes receiving the sacrament, as he did the very last Sunday he stayed in the Hague before he begun his journey towards Spain; and, even after his arrival there, was constant at the reading the common prayers both morning and evening, by their own chaplain, in their house, as long as the chaplain lived: and many, who knew him very well, did believe that if he had died in England, he would have died in the communion of that church. But there is no doubt, he did resolve, from the time that he meant to remain and die in Spain, that he would become a Roman catholic again, which he thought to be a much easier thing than it was; and that he might have been reconciled by any priest in as private a manner as he could desire. But when he consulted that affair with a Jesuit, who frequently came to the house, he found, that after an apostasy, it was not in the power of any priest to reconcile him, but that it was reserved to the pope himself; who rarely gives the faculty to any but to his own nuncios. This obliged him to resort thither; which he could not easily do without communicating it to the other ambassador; towards whom this was the only secret he reserved. And he found a way, as he thought, to elude him in this particular. He told him, several days, that the nuncio had sent him such and such messages by that Jesuit concerning those gentlemen who were in prison, the substance whereof did not differ from what the Venetian ambassador had formerly delivered from him: at last, he told him, "that he found the nuncio had somewhat to say in that affair which he would not communicate by message, but wished to speak with him in private; for publicly he must not be known to have any conference with him; and that hereupon he resolved to go *incognito* in sir Benjamin Wright's coach to him:" which he did, and was then reconciled; and returned home, making such a relation of their conference to his companion as he thought fit; and delivered the nuncio's salutation to him. But within two or three days he knew what the affair was: for, besides that the nuncio could not perform the office alone, but was to have the assistance of two or three so qualified, there was really care taken that the other ambassador might know it. And, before that time, when they both visited the president de la Hazienda, who carried them into his library, whilst the other ambassador was casting his eyes upon some books, (it being the best private library in Madrid,) the lord Cottington told the president, " that he was himself a catholic, but that his companion was an obstinate heretic :" of which the president sent him information the next day. But since himself forbore ever to communicate this secret to him, out of an opinion, it is very probable, that he might give some disturbance to his resolution, he likewise took no manner of notice of it to him to the minute of their departure from each other.

This difficulty being over, there remained yet another; which was, his having permission to stay in that country; for which he addressed himself to don Lewis; mentioned "his age; his infirmity of the gout; which would infallibly seize upon him, if, in that season of the year, he should provoke it by an extraordinary motion; in a word, that it was impossible for him to make the journey." Don Lewis told him, " he could answer him to part of what he said without speaking to the king; that he must not think of staying with the character of an ambassador, nor of residing in Madrid, in how private a condition soever : if he desired any thing with these two restraints, he would move the king in it." The other told him, " that he submitted to both these conditions; and only desired licence to reside in Valladolid, where he had lived many years, when the court remained there, in the time of king Philip the Third."

This place was not disliked; and within few days don Lewis sent him word, " that the king approved it; and that he should have a letter to the chief magistrate there, to treat him with all respect; and that his majesty would take care that he should not undergo any distress, but would supply him as his necessities required." And, shortly after, a message was sent to the ambassadors to let them know, that the king had appointed such a day for to give them an audience to take their leave. This new importunity was as extraordinary as the former; which was not at all grievous to the lord Cottington : who having obtained all he desired, was willing to be in his new habitation, which he had sent to be made ready for him; but the other much desired that the winter might be a little more over, which continued yet very sharp; and was resolved not to obey the summons, till the weather mended; and likewise, out of indignation for their treatment, he very heartily resolved to refuse the present for the smallness of it, it being less than had been used to be given to any single ordinary ambassador. But the lord Cottington, with great importunity, prevailed with him to decline both these contests, lest it might prove prejudicial to him; and so they performed their ceremonies; and about the beginning of March, after they had been in that court near fifteen months, they both left Madrid in the same hour: the lord Cottington taking his course for Valladolid; where he had the same house provided, and made ready for him by the care of the English Jesuits there, in which he had dwelt at the time of his agency, when the court resided there; where he died within one year after, in the 77th year of his age.

He was a very wise man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any transport of anger, or any other passion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way: for he was very steady in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a courage not to be frighted or amazed with any opposition. It is true he was illiterate as to the grammar of any language, or the principles of any science; but by his perfectly understanding the Spanish, (which he spoke as a Spaniard,) the French, and Italian languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said to be ignorant in any part of learning, divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the nature of beasts and birds, and above all in all kind of plantations and arts of husbandry. He was born a gentleman, both by father and mother, his father having a pretty entire seat near Bruton in Somersetshire, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had descended from father to son for many hundred years, and is still in the possession of his elder brother's children, the family having been always Roman catholic. His mother was a Stafford, nearly allied to sir Edward Stafford; who was vice-chamber-lain to queen Elizabeth, and had been ambassador in France; by whom this gentleman was brought up, and was gentleman of his horse, and left one of his executors of his will, and by him recommended to sir Robert Cecil, then principal secretary of state; who preferred him to sir Charles Cornwallis, when he went ambassador into Spain, in the beginning of the reign of king James; where he remained, for the space of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of secretary or agent, without ever returning into England in all that time. He raised by his own virtue[1] and industry a very fair estate, of which though the revenue did not exceed above four thousand pounds by the year; yet he had four very good houses, and three parks, the value whereof was not reckoned into that computation. He lived very nobly, well served and attended in his house; had a better stable of horses, better provision for sports, (especially of hawks, in which he took great delight,) than most of his quality, and lived always with great splendour; for though he loved money very well, and did not warily enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humour, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, covered the most of mirth, and caused more, than any man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any body ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender affections, nor bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserved compassion: he was heartily weary of the world, and no man was more willing to die; which is an argument that he had peace of conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his parts, than love to his person.

The other ambassador was dismissed with much more courtesy: for when they heard that his family remained at Antwerp in Flanders, and that he intended to go thither, and stay there till he received other orders from the king his master, they gave him all despatches thither which might be of use to him in those parts. The king of Spain himself used many gracious expressions to him at his last audience, and sent afterwards to him a letter for the archduke Leopold; in which he expressed the good opinion he had of the ambassador; and commanded, "that, whilst he should choose to reside in those parts, under his command, he should receive all respect, and enjoy all privileges as an ambassador:" and don Lewis de Haro writ likewise to the archduke, and the count of Fuensaldagna, "to look upon him as his particular friend:" all which ceremonies, though they cost them nothing, were of real benefit and advantage to the ambassador: for besides the treatment he received from the archduke himself in Brussels, as ambassador, such directions, or recommendations, were sent to the magistrates at Antwerp, that he enjoyed the privilege of his chapel, and all the English, who were numerous then in that city, repaired thither with all freedom for their devotion, and the exercise of their religion: which liberty had never been before granted to any man there, and which the English, and Irish priests, and the Roman catholics of those nations, exceedingly murmured at, and used all the endeavours they could to have taken away, though in vain.

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[1] By *virtue* is here meant his great natural parts, as appears by what follows.—W.

In his passage through France he waited upon the queen mother, who received him very graciously; and he found there, that the success which Cromwell had obtained in Scotland (though the king was still there, and in a better condition than before) had the same effect in the court of France as it had in the court of Spain; it gave over all thoughts of the king, as in a condition not only deplorable, but as absolutely desperate.

There had, a little before, fallen out an accident that troubled France very much, and no less pleased Spain; which was the death of the prince of Orange; a young prince of great hope and expectation, and of a spirit that desired to be in action. He had found, that the peace between Spain and the Low Countries, which his father had been so solicitous to make, even at his expiration, was not like to preserve him in equal lustre to what the three former princes had enjoyed; and therefore he wished nothing more, than that an opportunity might be offered to enter upon the war. He complained loudly, that the court of Spain had not observed, nor performed, many of those conditions which it was obliged to do for the particular benefit of him and his family: whereby he continued involved in many debts, which were uneasy to him; and so, upon all occasions which fell out, he adhered to that party in the States which were known most to favour the interest of France; which good inclination the cardinal, and the other ministers of that crown, used all possible care and endeavour to cultivate; and Spain was so much affected with the apprehension of the consequence of that alteration, and with the conscience of their own having promoted it, by not having complied with their obligations, that they resolved to redeem their error, and to reconcile him again, if possible, to them. To this purpose, a very great present was prepared at Madrid to be sent to him, ten brave Spanish horses, the worst of which cost there three hundred pounds sterling, with many other rarities of great value, and likewise a present of plate, jewels, and perfumed leather, to the princess royal his wife; and a full assurance, "that they would forthwith begin to perform all the articles which were to be done by them, and finish all within a short time."

The express, who was appointed to accompany the present, and to perform the other functions, was to begin his journey within two days, when the news arrived, by an express from Brussels, who came in as short a time as could be imagined, that the prince of Orange was dead of the smallpox, and had left the princess with child, and very near her time; who was brought to bed of a son within few days after his decease. The court at Madrid could not conceal its joy, nor dissemble their opinion, that the enemy whose influence they most apprehended was fortunately taken out of the way. On the other hand, France owned a great sorrow and grief for the loss of a man whom they believed to be more than ordinarily affected to them; and who, by a conjunction with their friends in Holland, might, in a short time, be much superior to that party in the States which adhered to the Spanish interest.

But nobody received so insupportable prejudice and damage, by this fatal blow, as the king of Great Britain did;

towards whom that brave prince gave all the testimony and manifestation of the most entire, fast, and unshaken affection and friendship, that hath ever been performed towards any person under any signal misfortune. Besides the assisting him, upon several emergent occasions, with greater sums of money than were easy to his incumbered fortune, his reputation, and his declared resolution, "that he would venture all he had in that quarrel," disposed many to be more concerned for his majesty. Though he could not prevail over that faction in Holland, which were known to favour Cromwell, (and the more out of their aversion to him, and to his power and greatness,) to induce them to serve the king, yet he kept the States General from consenting to that infamous alliance and conjunction, which, shortly after his death, they entered into with the new republic; and which they would never have yielded to, if he had lived. And, no doubt, the respect both France and Spain had for him, and his interposition, had prevailed with both to be less impudent than they afterwards appeared to be, in a total declining all consideration of the king, and rejecting all thoughts of his restoration. It contributed very much to the negligent farewell the ambassadors had received in Spain ; for the news of the prince's death had arrived there some months before their departure : and it did not only extinguish all imaginations in France of any possible hope for our king, but very much lessened the respect and civility which that court had always shewed to the queen herself, as a daughter of France ; towards whom they expressed not that regard they had formerly done.

But there was another accident, which, at this time, gave the queen more trouble than this; and of which her majesty made great complaint to the chancellor of the exchequer at his return from Spain. Upon the interview which had been between the king and the queen at Beauvais, when the king went for Holland, upon the foresight, if not the resolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own person into Scotland, he had left his brother the duke of York with the queen, with direction, "that he should conform himself entirely to the will and pleasure of the queen his mother, matters of religion only excepted." And there was the less doubt of his conformity to her commands, because, besides his piety and duty, which was very entire towards her, he was to depend wholly upon her bounty for his support; the court of France not taking any notice of the change, nor paying her own narrow assignation with any punctuality; so that she was not able, besides the reservedness in her nature, so to supply him as to make his condition pleasant to him; but exercised the same austere carriage towards him, which she had done to the prince his brother, and as unsuccessfully. The duke was very young, with a numerous family of his own, not well enough inclined to be contented, and consisting of persons who loved not one another, nor their master well enough to consider him before themselves: which wrought that effect upon him, that none of them had that credit with him, that, at such an age, some good men ought to have had: which proceeded from want of reasonable providence and circumspection. For when he made his escape out of England, as is mentioned before, he had only one person attending him, (who had, before, no relation or pretence to his service,) whose merit might have been otherwise requited, than by giving him a title and dependence upon him; and he quickly appeared to be so unworthy of it, that he was removed from it. Then was the time that such persons should have been placed about him, as might have both discovered such infirmities, as his nature might incline him to, and have infused those principles of piety and honour, as he was most capable of, and disposed to; and which had been as proper for his present misfortune, as for his highest dignity. But that province was wholly committed to the queen his mother by the late king, who was then in prison; and her majesty being then at Paris, when the duke landed in Holland, she could not deliberate so long upon it as such a subject required; and so was persuaded by others to consider them more than her son; and made haste to put such a family about him, with reference to the number, and to the offices which they were designed to serve in, as was above the greatness to which the younger son of the crown of England could pretend, by the usage and custom of that kingdom, when it was in the greatest splendour; and all this, when there was not in view the least revenue to support it, but that the whole charge and burden of it must inevitably fall upon her; of which her majesty was quickly sensible, and paid the penalty at least in the peace and quiet of her mind.

The duke was full of spirit and courage, and naturally loved designs, and desired to engage himself in some action that might improve and advance the low condition of the king his brother; towards whom he had an inviolable affection and fidelity, superior to any temptation. He was not pleased with the treatment he received in France, nor had confidence enough in any of his servants, to be advised by them towards the contriving any expedient that he might reasonably dispose himself to, or to be dissuaded from any enterprise which his own passion might suggest to him; though too many had too much credit with him in contributing to his discontents, and in representing the uncomfortableness of his own condition to him; "the little regard the queen appeared to have of him, the lustre that some of her servants lived in,[1] and those who depended upon them, whilst his royal highness wanted all that was necessary, and his servants were exposed to the most scandalous necessities and contempt;" and so endeavoured to abate that reverence in him to the queen his mother, to which he was very dutifully inclined.

There were at that time two persons, who, though without any relation to the court, very much frequented the duke's lodgings, and had frequent discourses with him, sir Edward Herbert, the late king's attorney general, (of whom much is said before,) and sir George Ratcliff, who had been designed by that king to attend upon the duke of York into Ireland, when he once thought of sending him thither. But that design being quickly laid aside, there was no more thought of using his service there. The duke looked upon them both as wise men, and fit to give him advice; and finding that they both applied themselves to him with diligence and address, he communicated his thoughts more freely to them than to any others. And they took pains to persuade him to dislike the condition he was in, and that he might spend his time more to his advantage in some other place than in France. They spoke often to him of the duke of Lorrain, "as a pattern and example for all unfortunate princes to follow: that he being, by the power and injustice of the king of France, driven out of his principality and dominions, had, by his own virtue and activity, put himself in the head of an army; by which he made himself so considerable, that he was courted by both the crowns of France and Spain, and might make his conditions with either according to his own election; and in the mean time lived with great reputation, and in great plenty, esteemed by all the world for his courage and conduct." With these, and the like discourses, the duke was much pleased and amused, and wished in himself that he could be put into such a condition, when in truth there could not a more improper example have been proposed to him, whose condition was more unlike his, or whose fortune and manners he was less to wish to follow, or less able to imitate. For the duke of Lorrain had, for many years before his misfortunes, had a great name in war, and was looked upon as one of the greatest captains of Christendom; and had drawn the arms and power of France upon him, by his inconstancy, and adhering to Spain, contrary to his treaty and obligation with the other crown; and when he was driven out of his own country, and not able to defend it, he was in the head of a very good army, and possessed of great wealth, which he carried with him, and could not but be very welcome, as he well knew, into Flanders, both as his misfortune proceeded from his affection to their king, and as his forces were necessary for their defence. And so he made such conditions with them, as were most beneficial to himself, and yet, in the consequence, so unsuccessful, as might well terrify all other princes from treading in the same footsteps.

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[1] Jermyn.—W.

With the report of the defeat of that army by Cromwell in Scotland, (which was the first good fortune to the king,) or shortly after, some letters from England brought intelligence, without any ground, that the king was dangerously sick; and shortly after, that he was dead; which was believed in England, and from thence transmitted into France. This gave a new alarm to those two gentlemen mentioned before, who received this information from such friends in

England, that they did really believe it to be true; and thereupon concluded, that both the place and the company would not be fit for the new king to be found in; and therefore that it would be necessary for him to remove from thence, before the report should be confirmed and believed.

Whether they imparted this nice consideration to the duke or not, his highness, without any preface of the motives, told the queen, "he was resolved to make a journey to Brussels;" who, being exceedingly surprised, asked him the reason; and "how he could be able to make such a journey?" which she in truth believed impossible for him, since she knew he had no money. His answer in short was, "that he would visit the duke of Lorrain, who had been always a friend to his father, and continued his affection to the king his brother; and he had some reason to believe, that duke would enable him to appear in action, that might be for his majesty's service; and that he was resolved to begin his journey the next day;" from which neither the queen's advice nor authority could divert him. Her majesty quickly discerned, that neither the lord Byron, nor sir John Berkeley, nor Mr. Bennet, his secretary, knew any thing of it; and therefore easily concluded who the counsellors were; who were both very ungracious to her, and she had long done all she could to lessen the duke's esteem of them. They well foresaw that the want of money would be of that force, that, without any other difficulty, the journey would be rendered impossible. They had therefore, upon their own credit, or out of their own store, procured as much as would defray the journey to Brussels; which, by the duke's directions, was put into the hands of sir George Ratcliff, and to be managed by his providence and discretion. And then he publicly declared his resolution to begin his journey the next day for Brussels, leaving his servants to make what shift they could to attend, or follow him.

Since there was no remedy, the queen thought it necessary that his chief servants should wait on him, that she might receive advertisement what progress he made, and what his design could be: so the lord Byron and Mr. Bennet made themselves ready for the journey; sir John Berkeley choosing to stay behind, that he might not appear inferior where he had exercised the supreme charge. And so, with the other two counsellors, and many of the inferior servants, the duke, according to his resolution, left the queen; and, when he came to Brussels, he lodged at the house of sir Henry de Vic, the king's resident, without being taken notice of by any of that court. There the two counsellors begun to form his family, and to confer offices upon those who were most acceptable to them; presuming that they should shortly receive news from England, which would confirm all that they had done under other titles. In the mean time the government of the house, and ordering the expense, was committed wholly to sir George Ratcliff, whilst the other contented himself with presiding in the councils, and directing all the politic designs. The duke of Lorrain had visited the duke upon his first arrival, and, being informed of the straits his royal highness was in, presented him with one thousand pistoles. But now the secret ground of all their counsels was found to be without any reality: the king was not only alive, and in good health, but known to be in the head of an army that looked Cromwell in the face; which destroyed all the machine they had raised: yet, being too far embarked to retire with any grace, and being encouraged by the civility the duke of Lorrain had shewed towards the duke, they had the presumption to propose that there might be a marriage between the duke of York and the daughter of the duke of Lorrain by the countess of Canteeroy; whom he had publicly married, but which marriage was declared at Rome to be void, by reason that his former wife was still alive.

When the duke of Lorrain saw how the affairs of this young prince were conducted, and that the lord Byron and Mr. Bennet, who were men well bred, and able to have discoursed any business to him, one whereof was his governor and the other his secretary, who by their offices ought to be more trusted in an affair of that moment, were not at all acquainted with it, and that the other two persons, who were men of a very unusual mien, appeared in it, and that only sir George Ratcliff undertook to speak to him about it, who could only make himself understood in Latin, which the duke cared not to speak in, he declined entertaining the motion, till he might know that it was made with the king's approbation; which the other did not pretend it to be, but, " that he did not doubt it would be afterwards approved by his majesty." Thus they were at the end of their projects: and there being no means to stay longer at Brussels, they persuaded the duke to visit his sister at the Hague, and there to consider and advise what was next to be done.

Of all these particulars the queen complained to the chancellor of the exchequer, with great bitterness against the folly and presumption of those two gentlemen, whose fidelity to the king she did not suspect; nor could she imagine the motive that had engaged them in such a bold undertaking; but she required him, " that, as soon as he should come into Flanders, he would make a journey to the Hague, and prevail with the duke" (to whom she writ to the same purpose) " to return again to Paris;" which the chancellor promised to endeavour heartily to do, being exceedingly troubled at the general discourse, which that sally had administered, as if there were a schism in the royal family in a season when so much unity was requisite.

There was another instance of the king's extreme low condition, and of the highest disrespect the court of France could express towards him, and of which all the protestant party of the queen's family complained very vehemently. From the time of the queen's being in France, the late king had appointed a chaplain of his own, Dr. Cosins, who was afterwards bishop of Durham, to attend upon her majesty for the constant service of that part of her household, the number of her protestant servants being much superior to those who were Roman catholics. And the queen had always punctually complied with the king's directions, and used the chaplain very graciously, and assigned him a competent support with the rest of her servants. An under room in the Louvre, out of any common passage, had been assigned for their morning and evening devotions; the key whereof was committed to the chaplain; who caused the room to be decently furnished, and kept; being made use of to no other purpose. Here, when the prince first came thither, and afterwards, whilst he stayed, he performed his devotions all the week, but went Sundays still to the resident's house to hear sermons. At this time an order was sent from the queen regent, "that that room should be no more applied to that purpose, and that the French king would not permit the exercise of any other religion in any of his houses than the Roman catholic:" and the queen gave notice to the chaplain, "that she was no longer able to continue the payment of the exhibition she had formerly assigned to him." The protestants, whereof many were of the best quality, lamented this alteration to the chancellor of the exchequer; and desired him to intercede with the queen, which he had the more title to do, because, at his going into Spain, she had vouchsafed to promise him, (upon some rumours, of which he took notice,) "that the same privilege which had been, should still be continued, and enjoyed by the protestants of her household; and that she would provide for the chaplain's subsistence." He presumed therefore to speak with her majesty upon it; and besought her to consider, "what ill impression this new order would make upon the protestants of all the king's dominions; upon whom he was chiefly to depend for his restoration; and how much prejudice it might be to herself, to be looked upon as a greater enemy to protestants, than she had been taken notice of to be; and likewise, whether this order, which had been given since the departure of the duke of York, might not be made use of as an excuse for his not returning, or indeed for his remove, since the precise time when it issued would not be generally understood." The queen heard him very graciously, and acknowledged, "that what he said had reason in it; but protested that she knew not what remedy to apply to it; that she had been herself surprised with that order, and was troubled at it; but that the queen regent was positive in it, and blamed her for want of zeal in her religion; and that she cared not to advance it, or to convert any of her children." She wished him "to confer with Mr. Montague upon it;" and implied, "that his bigotry in his new religion had contributed much to the procuring that order." He had newly taken orders, and was become priest in that church, and had great power with the queen regent, as well for his animosity against that religion he had professed, as for his vehement zeal for the church of which he now was. Upon this occasion, her majesty expressed a great sense of the loss she had sustained by the death of her old confessor, father Phillips; who, she said, "was a prudent and discreet man; and would never suffer her to be pressed to any passionate undertakings, under pretence of doing good for catholics; and always told her, that, as she ought to continue firm and constant to her own religion, so she was to live well towards the protestants, who deserved well from her, and to whom she was beholding." She said, "it would not be possible to have the same or any other room set aside, or allowed to be used as a chapel; but that she would take such course, that the family might meet for the exercise of their devotion in some private room that belonged to their lodgings: and that though her own exhibition was so ill paid, that she was indebted to all her servants, yet she would give order that Dr. Cosins (against whom she had some personal exceptions) should receive his salary, in proportion with the rest of her servants." She bid him "assure the duke of York, that he should have a free exercise of his religion, as he had before, though it must not be in the same place."

The chancellor conferred with Mr. Montague upon the subject; and offered the same reasons which he had done to the queen; which he looked upon as of no moment; but said, "that the king of France was master in his own house, and he was resolved, though the king of England himself should come thither again, never to permit any solemn exercise of the protestant religion in any house of his." The consideration of what the protestants in England might think on this occasion was of least moment to him; and it was indeed the common discourse there, "that the protestants of the church of England could never do the king service, but that all his hopes must be in the Roman catholics, and the presbyterians; and that he ought to give all satisfaction to both those parties."

When the chancellor of the exchequer came to Antwerp, with a purpose to make a journey speedily to the Hague, he was informed, "that the States were much offended that the duke of York remained there; and therefore that the princess royal" (who now more depended upon their favour than ever; her own jointure, as well as the fortune of her son, being to be resolved in their judicatory) "could no longer entertain him, but that he would be the next day at Breda." Thither the chancellor immediately went; and found the duke there with a family in all the confusion imaginable, in present want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be done next. They all censured and reproached the counsel by which they had been guided, and the counsellors as bitterly inveighed against each other, for undertaking many things which had no foundation in truth. They who concurred in nothing else were equally severe against the attorney, as a madman, and of that intolerable pride, that it was not possible for any man to converse with him. He as frankly reproached them all with being men of no parts, of no understanding, nor learning, no principles, and no resolution, and was so just to them all, as to contemn every man of them alike. In truth he had rendered himself so grievous to them all, that there was no man who desired to be in his company; yet, by the knack of his talk, which was the most like reason without being it, he retained still too much credit with the duke; who, being amused and confounded with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easily understood; and was himself so young, that he was rather delighted with the journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not entered upon them with reason enough, and was fortified with a firm resolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. However, he was very glad to receive the queen's letter, which the chancellor delivered to him; heard his advice very willingly, and resolved to begin his journey to Paris without any delay; and looked upon the occasion, as a very seasonable redemption. The next day he went to Antwerp; and from thence, with the same retinue he had carried with him, made haste to Paris, and was received by the queen his mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might reasonably have expected; though her severity was the same towards all those, who, she thought, had had the credit and power to seduce him; and they were not solicitous, by any apologies or confession, to recover her favour: for the true reason that had swayed them being not to be avowed, any other that they could devise and suggest would have rendered them more inexcusable.

During this time, the king underwent all kind of mortifications in Scotland. But after the defeat of the Scottish army in September, with which the king and Cromwell were equally delighted, as hath been said before, the marquis of Argyle's empire seemed not to be so absolute. A new army was appointed to be raised; the king himself interposed more than he had done; and the noblemen and officers came to him with more confidence: and his majesty took upon him to complain and expostulate, when those things were done which he did not like: yet the power was still in Argyle's hands; who, under all the professions of humility, exercised still the same tyranny; insomuch as the king grew weary of his own patience, and resolved to make some attempt in his own vindication. Dr. Frazier, who had been the king's physician many years before, and had constantly attended upon his person, and very much contributed to the king's journey into Scotland, was, shortly after his coming thither, disliked by Argyle; who knew that he was a creature of the Hamiltonians, and found him to be of an unquiet and over-active spirit; and thereupon sequestered him from his attendance. There were many officers who had served in duke Hamilton's engagement, as Middleton, and others, who had very entire affections for the king; and many of them had corresponded with Mountrose, and resolved to have joined with him; and finding themselves excluded, as all of them were, from any employment by the power of Argyle, had retired into the Highlands, and remained there concealed in expectation of some good season, in which they might avowedly appear. With some of these Dr. Frazier had held correspondence whilst he was in the court, and had often spoken to the king of their affection, and readiness to serve him, and of their power to do it, and had returned his majesty's gracious acceptation of their service, and his resolution to employ them. And now, not being himself suffered to come to the court, he found means to meet and confer with many of them; and held intelligence with the lord Lautherdale, who had always great confidence in him; and the officers undertaking to do more than they could, or the doctor understanding them to undertake more than they did, (for his fidelity was never suspected,) he gave the king such an account of their numbers, as well as resolutions, that his majesty appointed a day for their rendezvous, and promised to be present with them, and then to publish a declaration (which was likewise prepared) of the ill treatment he had endured, and against the person of Argyle; to whom the duke of Buckingham, notwithstanding all his former professions, gave himself wholly up,[1] and imparted to him all this correspondence, having found some of the letters which had passed, by the king's having left his cabinet open; for he was not at all trusted in it.

But Argyle did not think the time so near; so that the king did prosecute this purpose so far, that he rode one day, with a dozen or twenty horse, into the Highlands, and lodged there one night; neither the marquis of Argyle, nor any body else, knowing what was become of him; which put them all into great distraction. It was indeed a very empty and unprepared design, contrived and conducted by Dr. Frazier, without any foundation to build upon; and might well have ruined the king. It was afterwards called the Start; yet it proved, contrary to the expectation of wise men, very much to his majesty's advantage. For though he was compelled the next day to return, with a circumstance that seemed to have somewhat of force in it, (for as the company he looked for failed to appear, so there was a troop of horse, which he looked not for, sent by Argyle, who used very effectual instance with him to return,) yet notwithstanding, this declaration of his majesty's resentment, together with the observation of what the people generally spoke upon it, "that the king was not treated as he ought to be," made the marquis of Argyle change his counsels, and to be more solicitous to satisfy the king. A summons was sent out, in the king's name, to call a parliament; and great preparations were really made for the coronation; and the season of the year, (for whilst Cromwell was securing himself in Edinburgh, and making provisions for his army, the winter came on,) and the strong passes, which were easy then to be guarded, hindered the enemy's advance: so that the king resided, sometimes at Stirling, and sometimes at St.

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[1] This seems to have been the first of a whole life of rogueries.—W.

Johnston's, with commodity enough. The parliament met at Stirling, and shortly after brought all the lords of the other party thither, who appeared to have credit enough to wipe off those stains with which the engagement had defaced them, yet with submission to stand publicly in the stool of repentance, acknowledging their former transgressions; as they all did.

Duke Hamilton and Lautherdale were welcome to the king, and nearest his confidence; which neither the duke of Buckingham, who had cast off their friendship as unuseful, nor the marquis of Argyle, were pleased with. The king himself grew very popular, and, by his frequent conferences with the knights and burgesses, got any thing passed in the parliament which he desired. He caused many infamous acts to be repealed, and provided for the raising an army, whereof himself was general; and no exceptions were taken to those officers who had formerly served the king his father.

The coronation was passed with great solemnity and magnificence, all men making show of joy, and of being united to serve his majesty: yet the marquis of Argyle preserved his greatness and interest so well, and was still so considerable, that it was thought very expedient to raise an imagination in him, that the king had a purpose to marry one of his daughters; which was carried so far, that the king could no otherwise defend himself from it, than by sending an express into France for the queen his mother's consent, (which seemed not to be doubted of,) and to that purpose captain Titus, a person grateful to Argyle, and to all the presbyterian party, was sent; who, finding the queen less warm upon the proposition than was expected, made less haste back; so that the fate of Scotland was first determined.

The king's army was as well modelled, and in as good a condition as it was like to be whilst he stayed in Scotland. By that time that Cromwell was ready to take the field, his majesty was persuaded to make David Lesley his lieutenant general of the army; who had very long experience, and a very good name in war; and Middleton commanded the horse. The artillery was in very good order under the command of Wemmes, who had not the worse reputation there for having been ungrateful to the king's father. He was a confessed good officer; and there were, or could be, very few officers of any superior command, but such who had drawn their swords against his late majesty; all those who had served under the marquis of Mountrose having been put to death. Many of the greatest noblemen had raised regiments, or troops; and all the young gentlemen of the kingdom appeared very hearty and cheerful in commands, or volunteers: and, in all appearance, they seemed a body equal in any respect, and superior in number, to the enemy; which advanced all they could, and made it manifest that they desired nothing more than to come to battle; which was not thought counsellable for the king's army to engage in, except upon very notable advantages; which they had reason every day to expect; for there was a very broad and a deep river between them; and if they kept the passes, of which they were possessed, and could hardly choose but keep, Cromwell must in a very few days want provisions, and so be forced to retire, whilst the king had plenty of all things which he stood in need of, and could, by the advantage of the passes, be in his rear as soon as he thought fit.

In this posture both armies stood in view of each other near the two months of June and July, with some small attempts upon each other, with equal success. About the end of July, by the cowardice or treachery of major-general Bayly, who had a body of four thousand men to keep it, Cromwell gained the pass, by which he got behind the king; and though he could not compel his majesty to fight, for there was still the great river between them, he was possessed, or might quickly be, of the most fruitful part of the country; and so would not only have sufficient provision for his own army, but in a short time would be able to cut off much of that which should supply the king's. This was a great surprise to the king, and put him into new counsels; and he did, with the unanimous advice of almost all the principal officers, and all those who were admitted to the council, take a resolution worthy of his courage; which, how unfortunate soever it proved, was evidence enough that the same misfortune would have fallen out if he had not taken it.

The king was now, by Cromwell's putting himself behind him, much nearer to England than he: nor was it possible for him to overtake his majesty, in regard of the ways he was unavoidably to pass, till after the king had been many days' march before him: his majesty's fate depended upon the success of one battle: for a possible escape into the Highlands, after a defeat, there was no kingly prospect: all the northern parts of England had given him cause to believe that they were very well affected to his service, and if he could reach those countries, he might presume to increase the number of his army, which was numerous enough, with an addition of such men as would make it much more considerable. Hereupon, with the concurrence aforesaid, it was resolved that the army should immediately march, with as much expedition as was possible, into England, by the nearest ways, which led into Lancashire, whither the king sent expresses to give those, of whom he expected much, (by reason some of them had been in Scotland with him, with promise of large undertakings,) notice of his purpose, that they might get their soldiers together to receive him. His majesty sent likewise an express to the Isle of Man, where the earl of Derby had securely reposed himself from the end of the former war, "that he should meet his majesty in Lancashire." The marquis of Argyle was the only man who dissuaded his majesty's march into England, with reasons which were not frivolous; but the contrary prevailed; and he stayed behind; and, when the king begun his march, retired to his house in the Highlands. Some were of opinion, that he should then have been made prisoner, and left so secured, that he might not be able to do mischief when the king was gone, which most men believed he would be inclined to. But his majesty would not consent to it, because he was confident "he would not attempt any thing while the army was entire: if it prevailed, he neither would nor could do any harm; and if it were defeated, it would be no great matter what he did."

Though Cromwell was not frequently without good intelligence what was done in the king's army and councils, yet this last resolution was consulted with so great secrecy, and executed with that wonderful expedition, that the king had marched a whole day without the people's comprehending what the meaning was, and before he received the least advertisement of it. It was not a small surprise to him, nor was it easy for him to resolve what to do. If he should follow with his whole army, all the advantages he had got in Scotland would be presently lost, and the whole kingdom be again united in any new mischief. If he followed but with part, he might be too weak when he overtook the king; whose army, he knew, would bear the fatigue of a long march better than his could do. There were two considerations which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible consternation he foresaw the parliament would be in, when they heard that the king with his army was nearer to them, than their own army was for their defence; and he knew that he had enemies enough to improve their fear, and to lessen his conduct: the other was, the apprehension, that, if the king had time given to rest in any place, he would infinitely increase and strengthen his army by the resort of the people, as well as the gentry and nobility, from all parts. And though he did so much undervalue the Scottish army, that he would have been glad to have found himself engaged with it, upon any inequality of numbers, or disadvantage of ground, yet he did believe, that, by a good mixture with English, they might be made very considerable. He took a very quick resolution to provide for all the best he could: he despatched an express to the parliament, to prevent their being surprised with the news before they received it from him; and to assure them, "that he would himself overtake the enemy before they should give them any trouble;" and gave such further orders for drawing the auxiliary troops together in the several counties, as he thought fit.

He gave Lambert order, "immediately to follow the king with seven or eight hundred horse, and to draw as many others, as he could, from the country militia; and to disturb his majesty's march the most he could, by being near, and obliging him to march close; not engaging his own party in any sharp actions, without a very notorious advantage; but to keep himself entire till he should come up to him." With this order Lambert marched away the same day the advertisement came.

Cromwell resolved then to leave major general Monk, upon whom he looked with most confidence, as an excellent officer of foot, and as entirely devoted to him, with a strong party of foot, and some troops of horse, strong enough to suppress any forces which should rise after his departure, "to keep Edinburgh, and the harbour of Leith; to surprise and apprehend as many of the nobility, and considerable gentry, as he should find, and keep them under custody; to use the highest severity against all who opposed him; and, above all, not to endure or permit the licence of the preachers in their pulpits; and to make himself as formidable as was possible: in the last place, that, as soon as there appeared no visible force in the field, he should besiege Stirling;" whither most persons of condition were retired with their goods of value, as to a place of strength, and capable of being defended; where the records of the kingdom, and many other things of most account were deposited; it being the place where the king had, for the most part, resided. He charged him, "if at St. Johnston's, or any other place, he found a stubborn resistance, and were forced to spend much time, or to take it by storm, that he should give no quarter, nor exempt it from a general plunder;" all which rules Monk observed with the utmost rigour, and made himself as terrible as man could be.

When Cromwell had despatched all these orders and directions, with marvellous expedition, and seen most of them advanced in some degree of expedition, he begun his own march with the remainder of his army, three days after the king was gone, with a wonderful cheerfulness, and assurance to the officers and soldiers, that he should obtain a full victory in England over those who fled from him out of Scotland.

The king had, from the time that he had recovered any authority in Scotland, granted a commission to the duke of Buckingham, to raise a regiment of horse which Massey was to command under him, and to raise another regiment of foot. And the English which should resort thither, of which they expected great numbers, were to list themselves in those regiments. And there were some who had listed themselves accordingly; but the discipline the Scots had used to the king, and their adhering to their old principles, even after they seemed united for his majesty, had kept the king's friends in England from repairing to them in Scotland.

They who came from Holland with the king had disposed themselves as is said before, and there was little doubt but that, as soon as the king should enter England, those two regiments would be immediately full. The duke of Buckingham had lost much ground (and the more because the king was not pleased with it) by his having broken off all manner of friendship with duke Hamilton, and the earl of Lautherdale, (to whom he had professed so much,) and had entered into so fast a conjunction with the marquis of Argyle, their declared irreconcileable enemy, and adhered so firmly to him, when he was less dutiful to the king than he ought to have been. Massey had got a great name by his defending Gloucester against the late king, and was looked upon as a martyr for the presbyterian interest, and so very dear to that party; and therefore, as soon as they came within the borders of England, he was sent with some troops before, and was always to march at least a day before the army, to the end that he might give notice of the king's coming, and draw the gentry of the counties through which he passed, to be ready to attend upon his majesty. Besides, he had particular acquaintance with most of the presbyterians of Lancashire; whom nobody imagined to be of the Scottish temper, or unwilling to unite and join with the royal party; nor indeed were they.

But it was fatal at that time to all Scottish armies, to have always in them a committee of ministers, who ruined all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to choose such men for that service as had the reputation of being the most sober and moderate of that whole body, and who had shewed more affection, and advanced the king's service more than the rest; yet this moderate people no sooner heard that Massey was sent before to call upon their friends, and observed that, from the entrance into England, those about the king seemed to have less regard for the covenant than formerly, but they sent an express to him, without communicating it in the least degree with the king, with letters, and a declaration, wherein they required him "to publish that declaration, which signified the king's and the whole army's zeal for the covenant, and their resolution to prosecute the true intent of it;" and forbid him "to receive or entertain any soldiers in his troops, but those who would subscribe that obligation." The king had shortly notice of this, and lost no time in sending to Massey "not to publish any such declaration, and to behave himself with equal civility towards all men who were forward to serve his majesty." But before this inhibition was received, the matter had taken air in all places, and was spread over the kingdom; all men fled from their houses, or concealed themselves, who wished the king very well; and besides, his motion was so quick, that none of them could repair to him.

In Lancashire the earl of Derby met him; who, as soon as he received his summons, left the Isle of Man. When the king's army came about Warrington in Cheshire, they found, that there was a body of the enemy drawn up in a fair field, which did not appear considerable enough to stop their march. This was Lambert; who had made so much haste, that he had that day fallen upon some of their troops, and beaten them into the army; but when the army came up, Lambert, according to his order and purpose, retired, and, being pursued by the king's horse with a greater party, made more disorderly haste than a well ordered retreat requires, but with no considerable loss. This success made a great noise, as if Lambert had been defeated.

At Warrington it was thought counsellable, very unfortunately, that the earl of Derby, with the lord Withrington, and several other officers of good name, should return into Lancashire, in order to raise the well affected in those two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire; who could not come in upon so quick a march, as the king had made: and yet it being out of the road that Cromwell was to follow, who was entered into Yorkshire, the remaining of those persons there was thought a good expedient to gather a body of English, which the king extremely desired: and if they found any great difficulties, they were to follow the army. In order to which, the earl had a body of near two hundred horse, consisting, for the most part, of officers and gentlemen; which deprived the army of a strength they wanted; and was afterwards acknowledged to be a counsel too suddenly entered upon.

Upon appearance of that body of Lambert's, the whole army was drawn up, and appeared very cheerful. The king having observed David Lesley, throughout the whole march, sad and melancholy, and, at that time when the enemy retired, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good retreat used to be made, slow in giving orders, and riding by himself, his majesty rode up to him, and asked him, with great alacrity, "how he could be sad, when he was in the head of so brave an army?" (which he said looked well that day,) and demanded of him, "How he liked them?" To which David Lesley answered him in his ear, being at some distance from any other, "that he was melancholy indeed, for he well knew that army, how well soever it looked, would not fight:" which the king imputed to the chagrin of his humour, and gave it no credit, nor told it to any man, till, some years after, upon another occasion which will be remembered in its place, he told the chancellor of the exchequer of it.

It was not thought fit to pursue Lambert; who, being known to be a man of courage and conduct, and his troops to be of the best, was suspected, by so disorderly a retreat, to have only designed to have drawn the army another way, to disorder and disturb their march; which they resolved to continue with the same expedition they had hitherto used, which was incredible; until they should come to such a post as they might securely rest themselves. And there was an imagination, that they might have continued it even to London; which would have produced wonderful effects. But they quickly found that to be impossible, and that both horse and foot grew so weary, that they must have rest: the weather was exceedingly hot; the march having been begun near the beginning of August; which is the warmest season of the year; so that if they had not some rest before an enemy approached them, how willing soever they might be, they could not be able to fight.

There was a small garrison in Shrewsbury commanded by a gentleman, who, it was thought, might be prevailed with to give it up to the king; but his majesty sending to him, he returned a rude denial: so that his majesty's eye was upon Worcester; that was so little out of his way to London, that the going thither would not much retard the march, if they found the army able to continue it. Worcester had always been a place very well affected in itself, and most of the gentlemen of that county had been engaged for the king in the former war, and the city was the last that had surrendered to the parliament, of all those which had been garrisoned for his majesty; when all the works were thrown down, and no garrison from that time had been kept there; the sheriff, and justices, and committees, having had power enough to defend it against any malignity of the town, or county; and at this time all the principal gentry of that county had been seized upon, and were now prisoners there. Thither the king marched with his army even as soon as they had heard that he was in England: whereupon the committee, and all those who were employed by the parliament, fled in all the confusion imaginable, leaving their prisoners behind them, lest they themselves should become prisoners to them; and the city opened their gates, and received the king, with all the demonstration of affection and duty that could be expressed; and made such provision for the army, that it wanted nothing it could desire; the mayor taking care for the present provision of shoes and stockings, the want whereof, in so long a march, was very apparent and grievous. The principal persons of the country found themselves at liberty; and they, and the mayor and aldermen, with all the solemnity they could prepare, attended the herald, who proclaimed the king, as he had done, in more haste, and with less formality, in all those considerable towns through which his majesty had passed.

The army liked their quarters here so well, that neither officer nor soldier was in any degree willing to quit them, till they should be thoroughly refreshed: and it could not be denied that the fatigue had been even insupportable; never had so many hundred miles been marched in so few days, and with so little rest; nor did it in truth appear reasonable to any that they should remove from thence, since it was not possible that they should be able to reach London, though it had been better prepared for the king's reception than it appeared to be, before Cromwell would be there: who, having with great haste continued his march in a direct line, was now as near to it as the king's army was, and stood only at a gaze to be informed what his majesty meant to do. Worcester was a very good post, seated almost in the middle of the kingdom, and in as fruitful a country as any part of it; a good city, served by the noble river of Severn from all the adjacent counties; Wales behind it, from whence levies might be made of great numbers of stout men: it was a place whither the king's friends might repair, if they had the affections they pretended to have; and it was a place where he might defend himself, if the enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be compelled to engage his army in a battle, till Cromwell had gotten men enough to encompass him on all sides: and then the king might choose on which side to fight, since the enemy must be on both sides the river, and could not come suddenly to relieve each other, and this pressure would require much time; in which there might be an opportunity for several insurrections in the kingdom, if they were so weary of the present tyranny, and so solicitous to be restored to the king's government, as they were conceived to be: for nobody could ever hope for a more secure season to manifest their loyalty, than when the king was in the heart of the kingdom, with a formed army of near twenty thousand men, horse and foot, (for so they might be accounted to be,) with which he might relieve those who were in danger to be oppressed by a more powerful party. These considerations produced the resolution to provide, in the best manner, to expect Cromwell there; and a hope that he might be exercised by other diversions: and there was like to be time enough to cast up such works upon the hill before the town, as might keep the enemy at a distance, and their own quarters from being suddenly straitened: all which were recommended to general Lesley to take care of, and to take such a perfect view of the ground, that no advantage might be lost when the time required it.

The first ill omen that happened was the news of the defeat of the earl of Derby, and the total destruction of those gallant persons who accompanied him. The earl of Derby, within two or three days after he had left the king, with a body of near two hundred horse, all gallant men, employed his servants and tenants to give the country notice of his staying behind the king, to head and command those persons who should repair to his service; which the quick march his majesty made through the country would not permit them to do. In expectation of a good appearance of the people, he went to a little market-town, called Wigan in the duchy of Lancaster, where he stayed that night; when in the morning a regiment of the militia of the neighbour counties, commanded by a man of courage, whom Cromwell had sent to follow in the track of the king's march, to gather up the stragglers, and such as were not able to keep pace with the army, having received some advertisement that a troop of the king's horse were behind the army in that town, fell very early into it, before the persons in the town were out of their beds, having assurance, upon all the inquiry they could make, that there was no enemy near them. Nor indeed was there any suspicion of this regiment, which consisted of the several troops of the several counties, and passed that way by accident. As many as could get to their horses, presently mounted; they who could not, put themselves together on foot, and all endeavoured to keep the enemy from entering into the town; and the few who were got on horseback charged them with great courage. But the number of the enemy was too great, and the town too open, to put a stop to them in any one place, when they could enter at so many, and encompass those who opposed them. The earl of Derby, after his horse had been killed under him, made a shift on foot, to get into some enclosed grounds, and to conceal himself all that day, but was soon betrayed, and apprehended, and committed to prison.

The lord Withrington, after he had received many wounds, and given as many, and merited his death by the vengeance he took upon those who assaulted him, was killed upon the place; and so was sir Thomas Tildesley, and many other gallant gentlemen, very few escaping to carry news of the defeat. Sir William Throgmorton, who had been formerly major-general of the marquis of Newcastle's army, and was left to command in the same function, received so many wounds, that he was looked upon as dead, and not fit to be carried away with the prisoners; and so fell into such charitable and generous hands in the town, that, being believed to be dead, he was afterwards so well recovered, though with great maims and loss of limbs, that he at last got himself transported into Holland; where he was, at first appearance, taken for a ghost, all men believing him to have been buried long before. Most of those who were taken prisoners, of any quality, were afterwards sacrificed as a spectacle to the people, and barbarously put to death in several places; some, with the earl of Derby; and others, near the same time, in other places.

The lord Withrington was one of the most goodly persons of that age, being near the head higher than most tall men, and a gentleman of the best and most ancient extraction of the county of Northumberland, and of a very fair fortune, and one of the four which the last king made choice of to be about the person of his son the prince as gentleman of his privy chamber, when he first erected his family. His affection to the king was always notorious; and serving in the house of commons as knight of the shire for the county of Northumberland, he quickly got the reputation of being amongst the most malignant. As soon as the war broke out, he was of the first who raised both horse and foot at his own charge, and served eminently with them under the marquis of Newcastle; with whom he had a very particular and entire friendship. He was very nearly allied to the marquis; and by his testimony that he had performed many signal services, he was, about the middle of the war, made a peer of the kingdom. He was a man of great courage, and choler, by the last of which he incurred the ill will of many, who imputed it to an insolence of nature, which no man was further from; no man of a nature more civil, and candid towards all, in business, or conversation. But having sat long in the house of commons, and observed the disingenuity of the proceedings there, and the gross cheats, by which they deceived and cozened the people, he had contracted so hearty an indignation against them, and all who were cozened by them, and against all who had not his zeal to oppose and destroy them, that he often said things to slow and phlegmatic men, which offended them, and, it may be, injured them; which his good nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and ask pardon of those who would not question him for it.[1] He transported himself into the parts beyond the sea at the same time with the marquis of Newcastle, to accompany him, and remained still with him till the king went into Scotland ; and then waited upon his majesty, and endured the same affronts which others did, during the time of his residence there. And, it may be, the observation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their principles, and the disdain of their treatment, produced that aversion from their conversation, that prevailed upon his impatience to part too soon from their company, in hope that the earl of Derby, under whom he was very willing to serve, and he himself, might quickly draw together such a body of the royal party, as might give some check to the unbounded imaginations of that nation. It was reported by the enemy, that, in respect of his brave person and behaviour, they did offer him quarter ; which he refused ; and that they were thereby compelled, in their own defence, to kill him ; which is probable enough ; for he knew well the animosity the parliament had against him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have used him better than they did the earl of Derby ; who had not more enemies.

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[1] This was the unjust prejudice of honour; he would not ask pardon of those who had resolution as well as a right to exact it.—W.

Sir Thomas Tildesley was a gentleman of a good family, and a good fortune, who had raised men at his own charge at the beginning of the war, and had served in the command of them till the very end of it, with great courage ; and refusing to make any composition after the murder of the king, he found means to transport himself into Ireland to the marquis of Ormond ; with whom he stayed, till he was, with the rest of the English officers, dismissed, to satisfy the barbarous jealousy of the Irish ; and then got over into Scotland a little before the king marched from thence, and was desired by the earl of Derby to remain with him. The names of the other persons of quality who were killed in that encounter, and those who were taken prisoners, and afterwards put to death, ought to be discovered, and mentioned honourably, by any who shall purpose to himself to communicate those transactions to the view of posterity.

When the news of this defeat came to Worcester, as it did even almost as soon as the king came thither, it exceedingly afflicted his majesty, and abated much of the hope he had of a general rising of the people on his behalf. His army was very little increased by the access of any English; and though he had passed near the habitation of many persons of honour and quality, whose affections and loyalty had been notorious, not a man of them repaired to him. The sense of their former sufferings remained, and the smart was not over; nor did his stay in Worcester for so many days, add any resort to his court. The gentlemen of the country whom his coming thither had redeemed from imprisonment, remained still with him, and were useful to him; they who were in their houses in the country, though as well affected, remained there, and came not to him; and though letters from London had given him cause to believe that many prepared to come to him, which for some days they might easily have done, none appeared, except some common men who had formerly served the last king, and repaired again to Worcester.

There were some other accidents and observations which administered matter of mortification to the king. The duke of Buckingham had a mind very restless, and thought he had not credit enough with the king, if it were not made manifest that he had more than any body else: and therefore, as soon as the king had entered England, though he had reason to believe that his majesty had not been abundantly satisfied with his behaviour in Scotland, he came to the king, and told him, "the business was now to reduce England to his obedience; and therefore he ought to do all things gracious, and popular in the eyes of the nation; and nothing could be less so, than that the army should be under the command of a Scottish general: that David Lesley was only lieutenant general; and it had been unreasonable, whilst he remained in Scotland, to have put any other to have commanded over him; but that it would be as unreasonable, now they were in England, and had hope to increase the army by the access of the English, upon whom his principal dependence must be, to expect that they would be willing to serve under Lesley: that it would not consist with the honour of any peer of England to receive his orders; and, he believed, that very few of that rank would repair to his majesty, till they were secure from that apprehension;" and used much more discourse to that purpose. The king was so much surprised with it, that he could not imagine what he meant, and what the end of it would be; and asked him, "who it was he thought fit his majesty should give that command to?" when, to his astonishment, the duke told him, "he hoped his majesty would confer it upon himself."[1] At which the king was so amazed, that he found an occasion to break off the discourse, by calling upon somebody who was near, to come to him; and, by asking many questions, declined the former argument. The duke would not be so put off; but, the next day, in the march, renewed his importunity; and told the king, "that, he was confident, what he had proposed to him was so evidently for his service, that David Lesley himself would willingly consent to it." The king, angry at his prosecuting it in that manner, told him, "he could hardly believe that he was in earnest, or that he could in truth believe that he could be fit for such a charge;" which the duke seemed to wonder at, and asked, "wherein his unfitness lay?" To which the king replied, "that he was too young:" and he as readily alleged, "that Harry the Fourth of France commanded an army, and won a battle, when he was younger than he:" so that, in the end, the king was compelled to tell him, "that he would have no generalissimo but himself:" upon which the duke was so discontented, that he came no more to the council, scarce spoke to the king, neglected every body else and himself, insomuch as for many days he never put on clean linen, nor conversed with any body; nor did he recover this ill humour whilst the army stayed at Worcester.

There was another worse accident fell out soon after the king's coming thither: major general Massey, who thought himself now in his own territory, and that all between Worcester and Gloucester would be quickly his own conquest, knowing every step both of the land and the river, went out with a party to secure a pass, which the enemy might make over the river; which he did very well; but would then make a further inroad into the country, and possess a house which was of small importance, and in which there were men to defend it; where he received a very dangerous wound, that tore his arm and hand in such manner that he was in great torment, and could not stir out of his bed, in a time when his activity and industry was most wanted. By this means, the pass he had secured was either totally neglected, or not enough taken care for.

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[1] One would imagine this extravagant creature was bantering, and in the same humour as when he wrote about *the two kings of Brentford*, in the farce. It was the fortune of this wretched man to do as much mischief to the morals of Charles the Second's court, as his father had done to the politics of James the First's.---W.

There was no good understanding between the officers of the army: David Lesley appeared dispirited, and confounded; gave and revoked his orders, and sometimes contradicted them. He did not love Middleton, and was very jealous that all the officers loved him too well; who was indeed an excellent officer, and kept up the spirits of the rest, who had no esteem of Lesley. In this very unhappy distemper was the court and the army, in a season when they were ready to be swallowed by the malice and multitude of the enemy, and when nothing could preserve them, but the most sincere unity in their prayers to God, and a joint concurrence in their counsels and endeavours; in all which they were miserably divided.

The king had been several days in Worcester, when Cromwell was known to be within less than half a day's march, with an addition of very many regiments of horse and foot to those which he had brought with him from Scotland; and many other regiments were drawing towards him of the militia of the several counties, under the command of the principal gentlemen of the country: so that he was already very much superior, if not double in number to the army the king had with him. However, if those rules had been observed, those works cast up, and that order in quartering their men, as were resolved upon when the king came thither, there must have been a good defence made, and the advantages of the ground, the river, and the city, would have preserved them from being presently overrun. But, alas! the army was in amazement and confusion. Cromwell, without troubling himself with the formality of a siege, marched directly on as to a prey, and possessed the hill and all other places of advantage, with very little opposition. It was upon the third of September, when the king having been upon his horse most part of the night, and having taken a full view of the enemy, and every body being upon the post they should be, and the enemy making such a stand, that it was concluded he meant to make no attempt that night, and if he should, he might be repelled with ease; his majesty, a little before noon, retired to his lodging to eat, and refresh himself: where he had not been near an hour, when the alarm came, "that both armies were engaged;" and though his majesty's own horse was ready at the door, and he presently mounted, before or as soon as he came out of the city, he met the whole body of his horse running in so great fear, that he could not stop them, though he used all the means he could, and called to many officers by their names; and hardly preserved himself, by letting them pass by, from being overthrown, and overrun by them.

Cromwell had used none of the delay, nor circumspection which was imagined; but directed the troops to fall on in all places at once; and had caused a strong party to go over the river at the pass, which Massey had formerly secured, at a good distance from the town. And that being not at all guarded, they were never known to be on that side the river, till they were even ready to charge the king's troops. On that part where Middleton was, and with whom duke Hamilton charged, there was a very brave resistance; and they charged the enemy so vigorously, that they beat the body that charged them back, but they were quickly overpowered; and many gentlemen being killed, and Middleton hurt, and duke Hamilton's leg broke short off with a shot, the rest were forced to retire and shift for themselves. In no other part was there resistance made; but such a general consternation possessed the whole army, that the rest of the horse fled, and all the foot threw down their arms before they were charged. When the king came back into the town, he found a good body of horse, which had been persuaded to make a stand, though much the major part passed through upon the spur without making any pause. The king desired those who stayed, "that they would follow him, that they might look upon the enemy, who, he believed, did not pursue them." But when his majesty had gone a little way, he found most of the horse were gone the other way, and that he had none but a few servants of his own about him. Then he sent to have the gates of the town shut, that none might get in one way, nor out the other: but all was confusion; there were few to command, and none to obey: so that the king stayed till very many of the enemy's horse were entered the town, and then he was persuaded to withdraw himself.

Duke Hamilton fell into the enemy's hands; and, the next day, died of his wounds; and thereby prevented the being made a spectacle, as his brother had been; which the pride and animosity of his enemies would no doubt have done, having the same pretence for it by his being a peer of England, as the other was. He was in all respects to be much preferred before the other, a much wiser, though, it may be, a less cunning man: for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other's masterpiece. He had unquestionable courage, in which the other did not abound: he was in truth a very accomplished person, of an excellent judgment, and clear and ready expressions: and though he had been driven into some unwarrantable actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any inclinations of his own, and passionately and heartily run to all opportunities of redeeming it: and, in the very article of his death, he expressed a marvellous cheerfulness, "that he had the honour to lose his life in the king's service, and thereby to wipe out the memory of his former transgressions;" which he always professed were odious to himself.

As the victory cost the enemy no blood, so after it there was not much cruelty used to the prisoners who were taken upon the spot. But very many of those who run away were every day knocked in the head by the country people, and used with barbarity. Towards the king's menial servants, whereof most were taken, there was nothing of severity; but within few days they were all discharged, and set at liberty.

Though the king could not get a body of horse to fight, he could have too many to fly with him; and he had not been many hours from Worcester, when he found about him near, if not above, four thousand of his horse. There was David Lesley with all his own equipage, as if he had not fled upon the sudden; so that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a hopeful retreat even into Scotland itself. But there was paleness in every man's looks, and jealousy and confusion in their faces; and nothing could worse befall the king, than a safe return into Scotland; which yet he could not reasonably promise to himself in that company. But when the night covered them, he found means to withdraw himself with one or two of his own servants; whom he likewise discharged, when it begun to be light; and after he had made them cut off his hair, he betook himself alone into an adjacent wood, and relied only upon him for deliverance who alone could, and did miraculously deliver him.

When it was morning, and the troops, which had marched all night, and who knew that when it begun to be dark the king was with them, found now that he was not there, they cared less for each other's company; and all who were English separated themselves, and went into other roads; and wherever twenty horse appeared of the country, which was now awake, and upon their guard to stop and arrest the runaways, the whole body of the Scottish horse would fly, and run several ways; and twenty of them would give themselves prisoners to two country fellows: however, David Lesley reached Yorkshire with above fifteen hundred horse in a body. But the jealousies increased every day; and those of his own country were so unsatisfied with his whole conduct and behaviour, that they did, that is many of them, believe that he was corrupted by Cromwell; and the rest, who did not think so, believed him not to understand his profession, in which he had been bred from his cradle. When he was in his flight, considering one morning with the principal persons, which way they should take, some proposed this, and others that way; sir William Armorer asked him, "which way he thought best?" which when he had named, the other said, "he would then go the other; for, he swore, he had betrayed the king and the army all the time;" and so left him.

They were all soon after taken. And it is hard to be believed how very few of that numerous body of horse (for there can be no imagination that any of the foot escaped) returned into Scotland. Upon all the inquiry that was made, when a discovery[1] was made of most of the false and treacherous actions which had been committed by most men, there appeared no cause to suspect that David Lesley had been unfaithful in his charge, though he never recovered any reputation with those of his own country who wedded the king's interest. And yet it was some vindication to him, that, from the time of his imprisonment, he never received any favour from the parliament, whom he had served so long; nor from Cromwell, in whose company he had served; but underwent all the severities, and long imprisonment, the rest of his countrymen underwent. The king did not believe him false; and did always think him an excellent officer of horse, to distribute and execute orders, but in no degree capable of commanding in chief. And without doubt he was so amazed in that fatal day, that he performed not the office of a general, or of any competent officer.

They who fled out of Worcester, and were not killed, but made prisoners, were treated best and found great humanity; but all the foot, and others who were taken in the town, except some few officers and persons of quality, were driven like cattle with a guard to London, and there treated with great rigour; and many perished for want of food; and being enclosed in little room, till they were sold to the plantations for slaves, they died of all diseases. Cromwell returned in triumph; was received with universal joy and acclamation, as if he had destroyed the enemy of the nation, and for ever secured the liberty and happiness of the people: a price was set upon the king's head, whose escape was thought to be impossible; and order taken for the trial of the earl of Derby, and such other notorious prisoners as they had voted to destruction.

The earl of Derby was a man of unquestionable loyalty to the late king, and gave clear testimony of it before he received any obligations from the court, and when he thought himself disobliged by it. This king, in his first year, sent him the garter; which, in many respects, he had expected from the last. And the sense of that honour made him so readily comply with the king's command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the undertaking, nor any inclination to the Scots; who, he thought, had too much guilt upon them, in having depressed the crown, to be made instruments of repairing and restoring it. He was a man of great honour and clear courage; and all his defects and misfortunes proceeded from his having lived so little time among his equals, that he knew not how to treat his inferiors; which was the source of all the ill that befell him, having thereby drawn such prejudice against him from persons of inferior quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be contemned, that they pursued him to death. The king's army was no sooner defeated at Worcester, but the parliament renewed their old method of murdering in cold blood, and sent a commission to erect a high court of justice in Lancashire to persons of ordinary quality, many not being gentlemen, and all notoriously his enemies, to try the earl of Derby for his treason and rebellion; which they easily found him guilty of; and put him to death in a town of his own, against which he had expressed a severe displeasure for their obstinate rebellion against the king, with all the circumstances of rudeness and barbarity they could invent. The same night, one of those who was amongst his judges sent a trumpet to the Isle of Man with a letter directed to the countess dowager of Derby, by which he required her "to deliver up the castle and island to the parliament:" nor did their malice abate, till they had reduced that lady, a woman of very high and princely extraction, being the daughter of the duke de Tremouille in France, and of the most exemplary virtue and piety of her time, and that whole illustrious family, to the lowest penury and want, by disposing, giving, and selling, all the fortune and estate that should support it.

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[1] i. e. *discovered* after the restoration.—W.

They of the king's friends in Flanders, France, and Holland, who had not been permitted to attend upon his majesty in Scotland, were much exalted with the news of his being entered England with a powerful army, and being possessed of Worcester, which made all men prepare to make haste thither. But they were confounded with the assurance of that fatal day, and more confounded with the various reports of the person of the king, "of his being found amongst the dead; of his being prisoner;" and all those imaginations which naturally attend upon such unprosperous events. Many who had made escapes arrived every day in France, Flanders, and Holland, but knew no more what was become of the king, than they did who had not been in England. The only comfort that any of them brought, was, that he was amongst those that fled, and some of them had seen him that evening after the battle, many miles out of Worcester. These unsteady degrees of hope and fear tormented them very long; sometimes they heard he was at the Hague with his sister, which was occasioned by the arrival of the duke of Buckingham in Holland; and it was thought good policy to publish that the king himself was landed, that the search after him in England might be discontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any place on that side the sea. And this anxiety of mind disquieted the hearts of all honest men during the whole months of September and October, and part of November; in which month his majesty was known to be at Rouen; where he made himself known, and stayed some days to provide clothes; and from thence gave notice to the queen of his arrival.

It is great pity that there was never a journal made of that miraculous deliverance, in which there might be seen so many visible impressions of the immediate hand of God. When the darkness of the night was over, after the king had cast himself into that wood, he discerned another man, who had gotten upon an oak in the same wood, near the place where the king had rested himself, and had slept soundly. The man upon the tree had first seen the king, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the king, being a gentleman of the neighbour county of Staffordshire, who had served his late majesty during the war, and had now been one of the few who resorted to the king after his coming to Worcester. His name was Careless, who had had a command of foot, above the degree of a captain, under the lord Loughborough. He persuaded the king, since it could not be safe for him to go out of the wood, and that, as soon as it should be fully light, the wood itself would probably be visited by those of the country, who would be searching to find those whom they might make prisoners, that he would get up into that tree, where he had been; where the boughs were so thick with leaves, that a man would not be discovered there without a narrower inquiry than people usually make in places which they do not suspect. The king thought it good counsel; and, with the other's help, climbed into the tree; and then helped his companion to ascend after him; where they sat all that day, and securely saw many who came purposely into the wood to look after them, and heard all their discourse, how they would use the king himself if they could take him. This wood was either in or upon the borders of Staffordshire; and though there was a highway near one side of it, where the king had entered into it, yet it was large, and all other sides of it opened amongst enclosures, and it pleased God that Careless was not unacquainted with the neighbour villages; and it was part of the king's good fortune, that this gentleman, by being a Roman catholic, was acquainted with those of that profession of all degrees, who had the best opportunities of concealing him: for it must never be denied, that some of that faith had a very great share in his majesty's preservation.

The day being spent in the tree, it was not in the king's power to forget that he had lived two days with eating very little, and two nights with as little sleep; so that, when the night came, he was willing to make some provision for both: and he resolved, with the advice and assistance of his companion, to leave his blessed tree; and, when the night was dark, they walked through the wood into those enclosures which were furthest from any highway, and making a shift to get over hedges and ditches, after walking at least eight or nine miles, which were the more grievous to the king by the weight of his boots, (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair, for want of shoes,) before morning they came to a poor cottage, the owner whereof being a Roman catholic was known to Careless. He was called up, and as soon as he knew one of them, he easily concluded in what condition they both were; and presently carried them into a little barn, full of hay; which was a better lodging than he had for himself. But when they were there, and had conferred with their host of the news and temper of the country, it was resolved, that the danger would be the greater if they stayed together; and therefore that Careless should presently be gone; and should, within two days, send an honest man to the king, to guide him to some other place of security; and in the mean time his majesty should stay upon the hay-mow. The poor man had nothing for him to eat, but promised him good buttermilk the next morning; and so he was once more left alone, his companion, how weary soever, departing from him before day, the poor man of the house knowing no more, than that he was a friend of the captain's, and one of those who had escaped from Worcester. The king slept very well in his lodging, till the time that his host brought him a piece of bread, and a great pot of buttermilk, which he thought the best food he ever had eaten. The poor man spoke very intelligently to him of the country, and of the people who were well or ill affected to the king, and of the great fear and terror, that possessed the hearts of those who were best affected. He told him, "that he himself lived by his daily labour, and that what he had brought him was the fare he and his wife had; and that he feared, if he should endeavour to procure better, it might draw suspicion upon him, and people might be apt to think he had somebody with him that was not of his own family. However, if he would have him get some meat, he would do it; but if he could bear this hard diet, he should have enough of the milk, and some of the butter that was made with it." The king was satisfied with his reason, and would not run the hazard for a change of diet; desired only the man, "that he might have his company as often, and as much he could give it him;" there being the same reason against the poor man's discontinuing his labour, as the alteration of his fare.

After he had rested upon this hay-mow, and fed upon this diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another fellow, a little above the condition of his host, came to the house, sent from Careless, to conduct the king to another house, more out of any road near which any part of the army was like to march. It was above twelve miles that he was to go, and was to use the same caution he had done the first night, not to go in any common road; which his guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new dressed himself, changing clothes with his landlord and putting on those which he usually wore: he had a great mind to have kept his own shirt; but he considered, that men are not sooner discovered by any mark in disguises, than by having fine linen in ill clothes; and so he parted with his shirt too, and took the same his poor host had then on. Though he had foreseen that he must leave his boots, and his landlord had taken the best care he could to provide an old pair of shoes, yet they were not easy to him when he first put them on, and, in a short time after, grew very grievous to him. In this equipage he set out from his first lodging in the beginning of the night, under the conduct of this comrade; who guided him the nearest way, crossing over hedges and ditches, that they might be in least danger of meeting passengers. This was so grievous a march, and he was so tired, that he was even ready to despair, and to prefer being taken and suffered to rest, before purchasing his safety at that price. His shoes had, after the walking a few miles, hurt him so much, that he had thrown them away, and walked the rest of the way in his ill stockings, which were quickly worn out; and his feet, with the thorns in getting over hedges, and with the stones in other places, were so hurt and wounded, that he many times cast himself upon the ground, with a desperate and obstinate resolution to rest there till the morning, that he might shift with less torment, what hazard soever he run. But his stout guide still prevailed with him to make a new attempt, sometimes promising that the way should be better, and sometimes assuring him that he had but little further to go: and in this distress and perplexity, before the morning, they arrived at the house designed; which though it was better than that which he had left, his lodging was still in the barn, upon straw instead of hay, a place being made as easy in it, as the expectation of a guest could dispose it. Here he had such meat and porridge as such people use to have; with which, but especially with the butter and the cheese, he thought himself well feasted; and took the best care he could to be supplied with other, little better, shoes and stockings: and after his feet were enough recovered that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor house, within such a distance as put him not to much trouble: for having not yet in his thought which way, or by what means to make his escape, all that was designed was only, by shifting from one house to another, to avoid discovery. And being now in that quarter which was more inhabited by the Roman catholics than most other parts in England, he was led from one to another of that persuasion, and concealed with great fidelity. But he then observed that he was never carried to any gentleman's house, though that country was full of them, but only to poor houses of poor men, which only yielded him rest with very unpleasant sustenance; whether there was more danger in those better houses, in regard of the resort, and the many servants; or whether the owners of great estates were the owners likewise of more fears and apprehensions.

Within few days, a very honest and discreet person, one Mr. Hudleston, a Benedictine monk, who attended the service of the Roman catholics in those parts, came to him, sent by Careless; and was a very great assistance and comfort to him. And when the places to which he carried him were at too great a distance to walk, he provided him a horse, and more proper habit than the rags he wore. This man told him, "that the lord Wilmot lay concealed likewise in a friend's house of his; which his majesty was very glad of; and wished him to contrive some means, how they might speak together;" which the other easily did; and, within a night or two, brought them into one place. Wilmot told the king, "that he had by very good fortune fallen into the house of an honest gentleman, one Mr. Lane, a person of an excellent reputation for his fidelity to the king, but of so universal and general a good name, that, though he had a son, who had been a colonel in the king's service, during the late war, and was then upon his way with men to Worcester the very day of the defeat, men of all affections in the country, and of all opinions, paid the old man a very great respect: that he had been very civilly treated there, and that the old gentleman had used some diligence to find out where the king was, that he might get him to his house; where, he was sure, he could conceal him till he might contrive a full deliverance." He told him, "he had withdrawn from that house, and put himself amongst the catholics in hope that he might discover where his majesty was, and having now happily found him, advised him to repair to that house, which stood not near any other."

The king inquired of the monk of the reputation of this gentleman; who told him, "that he had a fair estate; was exceedingly beloved; and the eldest justice of peace of that county of Stafford; and though he was a very zealous protestant, yet he lived with so much civility and candour towards the catholics, that they would all trust him, as much as they would do any of their own profession; and that he could not think of any place of so good repose and security for his majesty's repair to." The king, who by this time had as good a mind to eat well as to sleep, liked the proposition, yet thought not fit to surprise the gentleman; but sent Wilmot thither again, to assure himself that he might be received there; and was willing that he should know what guest he received; which hitherto was so much concealed, that none of the houses, where he had yet been, knew, or seemed to suspect more than that he was one of the king's party that fled from Worcester. The monk carried him to a house at a reasonable distance, where he was to expect an account from the lord Wilmot; who returned very punctually, with as much assurance of welcome as he could wish. And so they two went together to Mr. Lane's house; where the king found he was welcome, and conveniently accommodated in such places, as in a large house had been provided to conceal the persons of malignants, or to preserve goods of value from being plundered. Here he lodged, and eat very well; and begun to hope that he was in present safety. Wilmot returned under the care of the monk, and expected summons, when any further motion should be thought to be necessary.

In this station the king remained in quiet and blessed security many days, receiving every day information of the general consternation the kingdom was in, out of the apprehension that his person might fall into the hands of his enemies, and of the great diligence they used to inquire for him. He saw the proclamation that was issued out and printed; in which a thousand pounds were promised to any man who would deliver and discover the person of Charles Stuart, and the penalty of high treason declared against those who presumed to harbour or conceal him: by which he saw how much he was beholding to all those who were faithful to him. It was now time to consider how he might find himself near the sea, from whence he might find some means to transport himself: and he was now near the middle of the kingdom, saving that it was a little more northward, where he was utterly unacquainted with all the ports, and with that coast. In the west he was best acquainted, and that coast was most proper to transport him into France; to which he was most inclined. Upon this matter he communicated with those of this family to whom he was known, that is, with the old gentleman the father, a very grave and venerable person; the colonel his eldest son, a very plain man in his discourse and behaviour, but of a fearless courage, and an integrity superior to any temptation; and a daughter of the house, of a very good wit and discretion, and very fit to bear any part in such a trust. It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times, that the affections of all men were almost as well known as their faces, by the discovery they had made of themselves, in those sad seasons, in many trials and persecutions: so that men knew not only the minds of their next neighbours, and those who inhabited near them, but, upon conference with their friends, could choose fit houses, at any distance, to repose themselves in security, from one end of the kingdom to another, without trusting the hospitality of a common inn: and men were very rarely deceived in their confidence upon such occasions, but the persons with whom they were at any time, could conduct them to another house of the same affection.

Mr. Lane had a niece, or very near kinswoman, who was married to a gentleman, one Mr. Norton, a person of eight or nine hundred pounds *per annum*, who lived within four or five miles of Bristol, which was at least four or five days' journey from the place where the king then was, but a place most to be wished for the king to be in, because he did not only know all that country very well, but knew many persons also, to whom, in an extraordinary case, he durst make himself known. It was hereupon resolved, that Mrs. Lane should visit this cousin, who was known to be of good affections; and that she should ride behind the king, who was fitted with clothes and boots for such a service; and that a servant of her father's, in his livery, should wait upon her. A good house was easily pitched upon for the first night's lodging; where Wilmot had notice given him to meet. And in this equipage the king begun his journey; the colonel keeping him company at a distance, with a hawk upon his fist, and two or three spaniels; which, where there were any fields at hand, warranted him to ride out of the way, keeping his company still in his eye, and not seeming to be of it. In this manner they came to their first night's lodging; and they need not now contrive to come to their journey's end about the close of the evening, for it was in the month of October far advanced, that the long journeys they made could not be despatched sooner. Here the lord Wilmot found them; and their journeys being then adjusted, he was instructed where he should be every night: so they were seldom seen together in the journey, and rarely lodged in the same house at night. In this manner the colonel hawked two or three days, till he had brought them within less than a day's journey of Mr. Norton's house; and then he gave his hawk to the lord Wilmot; who continued the journey in the same exercise.

There was great care taken when they came to any house, that the king might be presently carried into some chamber; Mrs. Lane declaring, "that he was a neighbour's son, whom his father had lent her to ride before her, in hope that he would the sooner recover from a quartan ague, with which he had been miserably afflicted, and was not yet free." And by this artifice she caused a good bed to be still provided for him, and the best meat to be sent; which she often carried herself, to hinder others from doing it. There was no resting in any place till they came to Mr. Norton's, nor any thing extraordinary that happened in the way, save that they met many people every day in the way, who were very well known to the king; and the day that they went to Mr. Norton's, they were necessarily to ride quite through the city of Bristol; a place, and people, the king had been so well acquainted with, that he could not but send his eyes abroad to view the great alterations which had been made there, after his departure from thence: and when he rode near the place where the great fort had stood, he could not forbear putting his horse out of the way, and rode with his mistress behind him round about it.

They came to Mr. Norton's house sooner than usual, and it being on a holyday, they saw many people about a bowling-green that was before the door; and the first man the king saw was a chaplain of his own, who was allied to the gentleman of the house, and was sitting upon the rails to see how the bowlers played. William, by which name the king went, walked with his horse into the stable, until his mistress could provide for his retreat. Mrs. Lane was very welcome to her cousin, and was presently conducted to her chamber; where she no sooner was, than she lamented the condition of "a good youth, who came with her, and whom she had borrowed of his father to ride before her, who was very sick, being newly recovered of an ague;" and desired her cousin, "that a chamber might be provided for him, and a good fire made: for that he would go early to bed, and was not fit to be below stairs." A pretty little chamber was presently made ready, and a fire prepared, and a boy sent into the stable to call William, and to shew him his chamber; who was very glad to be there, freed from so much company as was below. Mrs. Lane was put to find some excuse for making a visit at that time of the year, and so many days' journey from her father, and where she had never been before, though the mistress of the house and she had been bred together, and friends as well as kindred. She pretended, "that she was, after a little rest, to go into Dorsetshire to another friend." When it was supper-time, there being broth brought to the table, Mrs. Lane filled a little dish, and desired the butler, who waited at the table, "to carry that dish of porridge to William, and to tell him that he should have some meat sent to him presently." The butler carried the porridge into the chamber, with a napkin, and spoon, and bread, and spoke kindly to the young man; who was willing to be eating.

The butler, looking narrowly upon him, fell upon his knees, and with tears told him, "he was glad to see his majesty." The king was infinitely surprised, yet recollected himself enough to laugh at the man, and to ask him, "what he meant?"

The man had been falconer to sir Thomas Jermyn, and made it appear that he knew well enough to whom he spoke, repeating some particulars, which the king had not forgot. Whereupon the king conjured him "not to speak of what he knew, so much as to his master, though he believed him a very honest man." The fellow promised, and faithfully kept his word; and the king was the better waited upon during the time of his abode there.

Dr. Gorges, the king's chaplain, being a gentleman of a good family near that place, and allied to Mr. Norton, supped with them; and, being a man of a cheerful conversation, asked Mrs. Lane many questions concerning William, of whom he saw she was so careful by sending up meat to him, "how long his ague had been gone? and whether he had purged since it left him?" and the like; to which she gave such answers as occurred. The doctor, from the final prevalence of the parliament, had, as many others of that function had done, declined his profession, and pretended to study physic. As soon as supper was done, out of good nature, and without telling any body, he went to see William. The king saw him coming into the chamber, and withdrew to the inside of the bed, that he might be furthest from the candle; and the doctor came, and sat down by him, felt his pulse, and asked him many questions, which he answered in as few words as was possible, and expressing great inclination to go to his bed; to which the doctor left him, and went to Mrs. Lane, and told her, "that he had been with William, and that he would do well;" and advised her what she should do if his ague returned. The next morning the doctor went away, so that the king saw him no more, of which he was right glad. The next day the lord Wilmot came to the house with his hawk, to see Mrs. Lane, and so conferred with William; who was to consider what he was to do. They thought it necessary to rest some days, till they were informed what port lay most convenient for them, and what person lived nearest to it, upon whose fidelity they might rely: and the king gave him directions to inquire after some persons, and some other particulars, of which when he should be fully instructed, he should return again to him. In the mean time Wilmot lodged at a house not far from Mr. Norton's, to which he had been recommended.

After some days' stay here, and communication between the king and the lord Wilmot by letters, the king came to know that colonel Francis Windham lived within little more than a day's journey of the place where he was; of which he was very glad; for besides the inclination he had to his eldest brother, whose wife had been his nurse, this gentleman had behaved himself very well during the war, and had been governor of Dunstar castle, where the king had lodged when he was in the west. After the end of the war, and when all other places were surrendered in that county, he likewise surrendered that, upon fair conditions, and made his peace, and afterwards married a wife with a competent fortune, and lived quietly, without any suspicion of having lessened his affection towards the king.

The king sent Wilmot to him, and acquainted him where he was, and "that he would gladly speak with him." It was not hard for him to choose a good place where to meet, and thereupon the day was appointed. After the king had taken his leave of Mrs. Lane, who remained with her cousin Norton, the king, and the lord Wilmot, met the colonel; and, in the way, he encountered in a town, through which they passed, Mr. Kirton, a servant of the king's, who well knew the lord Wilmot, who had no other disguise than the hawk, but took no notice of him, nor suspected the king to be there; yet that day made the king more wary of having him in his company upon the way. At the place of meeting they rested only one night, and then the king went to the colonel's house; where he rested many days, whilst the colonel projected at what place the king might embark, and how they might procure a vessel to be ready there; which was not easy to find; there being so great caution in all the ports, and so great a fear possessing those who were honest, that it was hard to procure any vessel that was outward bound to take in any passenger.

There was a gentleman, one Mr. Ellison, who lived near Lyme in Dorsetshire, and was well known to colonel Windham, having been a captain in the king's army, and was still looked upon as a very honest man. With him the colonel consulted, how they might get a vessel to be ready to take in a couple of gentlemen, friends of his, who were in danger to be arrested, and transport them into France. Though no man would ask who the persons were, yet every man suspected who they were; at least they concluded, that it was some of Worcester party. Lyme was generally as malicious and disaffected a town to the king's interest, as any town in England could be: yet there was in it a master of a bark, of whose honesty this captain was very confident. This man was lately returned from France, and had unladen his vessel, when Ellison asked him, "when he would make another voyage?" And he answered, "as soon as he could get lading for his ship." The other asked, "whether he would undertake to carry over a couple of gentlemen, and land them in France, if he might be as well paid for his voyage as he used to be when he was freighted by the merchants." In conclusion, he told him, "he should receive fifty pounds for his fare." The large recompense had that effect, that the man undertook it; though he said "he must make his provision very secretly; for that he might be well suspected for going to sea again without being freighted, after he was so newly returned." Colonel Windham, being advertised of this, came together with the lord Wilmot to the captain's house, from whence the lord and the captain rid to a house near Lyme; where the master of the bark met them; and the lord Wilmot being satisfied with the discourse of the man, and his wariness in foreseeing suspicions which would arise, it was resolved, that on such a night, which, upon consideration of the tides, was agreed upon, the man should draw out his vessel from the pier, and, being at sea, should come to such a point about a mile from the town, where his ship should remain upon the beach when the water was gone; which would take it off again about break of day the next morning. There was very near that point, even in the view of it, a small inn, kept by a man who was reputed honest, to which the cavaliers of the country often resorted; and London road passed that way; so that it was seldom without resort. Into that inn the two gentlemen were to come in the beginning of the night, that they might put themselves on board. All things being thus concerted, and good earnest given to the master, the lord

Wilmot and the colonel returned to the colonel's house, above a day's journey from the place, the captain undertaking every day to look that the master should provide, and, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, to give the colonel notice at such a place, where they intended the king should be the day before he was to embark.

The king, being satisfied with these preparations, came, at the time appointed, to that house where he was to hear that all went as it ought to do; of which he received assurance from the captain; who found that the man had honestly put his provisions on board, and had his company ready, which were but four men; and that the vessel should be drawn out that night: so that it was fit for the two persons to come to the aforesaid inn, and the captain conducted them within sight of it; and then went to his own house, not distant a mile from it; the colonel remaining still at the house where they had lodged the night before, till he might hear the news of their being embarked.

They found many passengers in the inn; and so were to be contented with an ordinary chamber, which they did not intend to sleep long in. But as soon as there appeared any light, Wilmot went out to discover the bark, of which there was no appearance. In a word, the sun arose, and nothing like a ship in view. They sent to the captain, who was as much amazed; and he sent to the town; and his servant could not find the master of the bark, which was still in the pier. They suspected the captain, and the captain suspected the master. However, it being past ten of the clock, they concluded it was not fit for them to stay longer there, and so they mounted their horses again to return to the house where they had left the colonel, who, they knew, resolved to stay there till he were assured that they were gone.

The truth of the disappointment was this; the man meant honestly, and made all things ready for his departure; and the night he was to go out with his vessel, he had stayed in his own house, and slept two or three hours; and the time of the tide being come, that it was necessary to be on board, he took out of a cupboard some linen, and other things, which he used to carry with him to sea. His wife had observed, that he had been for some days fuller of thoughts than he used to be, and that he had been speaking with seamen, who used to go with him, and that some of them had carried provisions on board the bark; of which she had asked her husband the reason; who had told her, "that he was promised freight speedily, and therefore he would make all things ready." She was sure that there was yet no lading in the ship, and therefore, when she saw her husband take all those materials with him, which was a sure sign that he meant to go to sea, and it being late in the night, she shut the door, and swore he should not go out of his house. He told her, "he must go, and was engaged to go to sea that night; for which he should be well paid." His wife told him, "she was sure he was doïng somewhat that would undo him, and she was resolved he should not go out of his house; and if he should persist in it, she would tell the neighbours, and carry him before the mayor to be examined, that the truth might be found out." The poor man, thus mastered by the passion and violence of his wife, was forced to yield to her, that there might be no further noise; and so went into his bed.

And it was very happy that the king's jealousy hastened him from that inn. It was the solemn fast day, which was observed in those times principally to inflame the people against the king, and all those who were loyal to him; and there was a chapel in that village over against that inn, where a weaver, who had been a soldier, used to preach, and utter all the villany imaginable against the old order of government: and he was then in the chapel preaching to his congregation, when the king went from thence, and telling the people, "that Charles Stuart was lurking somewhere in that country, and that they would merit from God Almighty, if they could find him out." The passengers, who had lodged in the inn that night, had, as soon as they were up, sent for a smith to visit their horses, it being a hard frost. The smith, when he had done what he was sent for, according to the custom of that people, examined the feet of the other two horses to find more work. When he had observed them, he told the host of the house, "that one of those horses had travelled far; and that he was sure that his four shoes had been made in four several counties;" which, whether his skill was able to discover or no, was very true. The smith going to the sermon told this story to some of his neighbours; and so it came to the ears of the preacher, when his sermon was done. Immediately he sent for an officer, and searched the inn, and inquired for those horses; and being informed that they were gone, he caused horses to be sent to follow them, and to make inquiry after the two men who rid those horses, and positively declared, "that one of them was Charles Stuart."

When they came again to the colonel, they presently concluded that they were to make no longer stay in those parts, nor any more to endeavour to find a ship upon that coast; and, without any further delay, they rode back to the colonel's house; where they arrived in the night. Then they resolved to make their next attempt more southward in Hampshire and Sussex, where colonel Windham had no interest. They must pass through all Wiltshire before they came thither; which would require many days' journey: and they were first to consider what honest houses there were in or near the way, where they might securely repose; and it was thought very dangerous for the king to ride through any great town, as Salisbury, or Winchester, which might probably lie in their way.

There was between that and Salisbury a very honest gentleman, colonel Robert Philips, a younger brother of a very good family, which had always been very loyal; and he had served the king during the war. The king was resolved to trust him; and so sent the lord Wilmot to a place from whence he might send to Mr. Philips to come to him, and when he had spoken with him, Mr. Philips should come to the king, and Wilmot was to stay in such a place as they two should agree. Mr. Philips accordingly came to the colonel's house; which he could do without suspicion, they being nearly allied. The ways were very full of soldiers; which were sent now from the army to their quarters, and many regiments of horse and foot were assigned for the west; of which division Desborough was major general. These marches were like to last for many days, and it would not be fit for the king to stay so long in that place. Thereupon, he resorted to his old security of taking a woman behind him, a kinswoman of colonel Windham, whom he carried in that manner to a place not far from Salisbury; to which colonel Philips conducted him. In this journey he passed through the middle of a regiment of horse; and, presently after, met Desborough walking down a hill with three or four men with him; who had lodged in Salisbury the night before; all that road being full of soldiers.

The next day, upon the plains, Dr. Hinchman, one of the prebends of Salisbury, met the king, the lord Wilmot and Philips then leaving him to go to the sea-coast to find a vessel, the doctor conducting the king to a place called Heale, three miles from Salisbury, belonging then to sergeant Hyde, who was afterwards chief justice of the King's Bench, and then in the possession of the widow of his elder brother; a house that stood alone from neighbours, and from any highway; where coming in late in the evening, he supped with some gentlemen who accidentally were in the house; which could not well be avoided. But, the next morning, he went early from thence, as if he had continued his journey; and the widow, being trusted with the knowledge of her guest, sent her servants out of the way; and, at an hour appointed, received him again, and accommodated him in a little room, which had been made since the beginning of the troubles for the concealment of delinquents, the seat always belonging to a malignant family.

Here he lay concealed, without the knowledge of some gentlemen, who lived in the house, and of others who daily resorted thither, for many days, the widow herself only attending him with such things as were necessary, and bringing him such letters as the doctor received from the lord Wilmot and colonel Philips. A vessel being at last provided upon the coast of Sussex, and notice thereof sent to Dr. Hinchman, he sent to the king to meet him at Stonehenge upon the plains three miles from Heale; whither the widow took care to direct him; and being there met, he attended him to the place where colonel Philips received him. He, the next day, delivered him to the lord Wilmot; who went with him to a house in Sussex, recommended by colonel Gunter, a gentleman of that country, who had served the king in the war; who met him there; and had provided a little bark at Brighthelmstone, a small fisher-town; where he went early on board, and, by God's blessing, arrived safely in Normandy.

The earl of Southampton, who was then at his house at Titchfield in Hampshire, had been advertised of the king's being in the west, and of his missing his passage at Lyme, and sent a trusty gentleman to those faithful persons in the country, who, he thought, were most like to be employed for his escape if he came into those parts, to let them know, "that he had a ship ready, and if the king came to him, he should be safe;" which advertisement came to the king the night before he embarked, and when his vessel was ready. But his majesty ever acknowledged the obligation with great kindness, he being the only person of that condition, who had the courage to solicit such danger, though all good men heartily wished his deliverance. It was about the end of November, that the king landed in Normandy, in a small creek; from whence he got to Rouen, and then gave notice to the queen of his arrival, and freed his subjects in all places from their dismal apprehensions.

Though this wonderful deliverance and preservation of the person of the king was an argument of general joy and comfort to all his good subjects, and a new seed of hope for future blessings, yet his present condition was very deplorable. France was not at all pleased with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The queen his mother was very glad of his escape, but in no degree able to contribute towards his support; they who had interest with her finding all she had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited expense.[1] Besides, the distraction that court had been lately in, and was not yet free from the effects of, made her pension to be paid with less punctuality than it had used to be; so that she was forced to be in debt both to her servants, and for the very provisions of her house; nor had the king one shilling towards the support of himself and his family.

As soon as his majesty came to Paris, and knew that the chancellor of the exchequer was at Antwerp, he commanded

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[1] Jermyn her favourite.—W.

Seymour, who was of his bedchamber, to send to him to repair thither; which whilst he was providing to do, Mr. Long, the king's secretary, who was at Amsterdam, and had been removed from his attendance in Scotland by the marquis of Argyle, writ to the chancellor, "that he had received a letter from the king, by which he was required to let all his majesty's servants who were in those parts, know, it was his pleasure that none of them should repair to him to Paris, until they should receive further order, since his majesty could not yet resolve how long he should stay there: of which," Mr. Long said, "he thought it his duty to give him notice; with this, that the lord Colepepper and himself, who had resolved to have made haste thither, had in obedience to this command laid aside that purpose." The chancellor concluded that this inhibition concerned not him, since he had received a command from the king to wait upon him. Besides, he had still the character of ambassador upon him, which he could not lay down till he had kissed his majesty's hand. So he pursued his former purpose, and came to Paris in the Christmas, and found that the command to Mr. Long had been procured by the queen with an eye principally upon the chancellor, who she had no mind should be with the king; though, when there was no remedy, the queen received him graciously. But the king was very well pleased with his being come; and, for the first four or five days, he spent many hours with him in private, and informed him of very many particulars, of the barbarous treatment he had received in Scotland, the reason of his march into England, the confusion at Worcester, and all the circumstances of his happy escape and deliverance; many parts whereof are comprehended in this relation, and are exactly true. For besides all those particulars which the king himself was pleased to communicate to him, so soon after the transactions of them, when they had made so lively an impression in his memory, and of which the chancellor at that time kept a very punctual memorial; he had, at the same time, the daily conversation of the lord Wilmot; who informed him of all he could remember: and sometimes the king and he recollected many particulars in the discourse together, in which the king's memory was much better than the other's. And after the king's blessed return into England, he had frequent conferences with many of those who had acted several parts towards the escape; whereof many were of the chancellor's nearest alliance, and others his most intimate friends; towards whom his majesty always made many gracious expressions of his acknowledgment: so that there is nothing in this short relation the verity whereof can justly be suspected, though, as is said before, it is great pity, that there could be no diary made, indeed no exact account of every hour's adventure from the coming out of Worcester, in that dismal confusion, to the hour of his embarkation at Brighthelmstone; in which there was such a concurrence of good nature, charity, and generosity, in persons of the meanest and lowest extraction and condition, who did not know the value of the precious jewel that was in their custody, yet all knew him to be escaped from such an action as would make the discovery and delivery of him to those who governed over and amongst them, of great benefit, and present advantage to them; and in those who did know him, of such courage, loyalty, and activity, that all may reasonably look upon the whole, as the inspiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifestation of his power and glory, and for the conviction of that whole nation, which had sinned so grievously; and if it hath not wrought that effect in them, it hath rendered them the more inexcusable.

As the greatest brunt of the danger was diverted by these poor people, in his night-marches on foot, with so much pain and torment, that he often thought that he paid too dear a price for his life, before he fell into the hands of persons of better quality, and places of more conveniency, so he owed very much to the diligence and fidelity of some ecclesiastical persons of the Romish persuasion; especially to those of the order of St. Bennet; which was the reason that he expressed more favours, after his restoration, to that order than to any other, and granted them some extraordinary privileges about the service of the queen, not concealing the reason why he did so; which ought to have satisfied all men, that his majesty's indulgence towards all of that profession, by restraining the severity and rigour of the laws which had been formerly made against them, had its rise from a fountain of princely justice and gratitude, and of royal bounty and clemency.

Whilst the counsels and enterprises in Scotland and England had this woful issue, Ireland had no better success in its undertakings. Cromwell had made so great a progress in his conquests, before he left that kingdom that he might visit Scotland, that he was become, upon the matter, entirely possessed of the two most valuable and best inhabited provinces, Lemster and Munster; and plainly discerned, that what remained to be done, if dexterously conducted, would be with most ease brought to pass by the folly and perfidiousness of the Irish themselves; who would save their enemies a labour, in contributing to and hastening their own destruction. He had made the bridge fair, easy, and safe for them to pass over into foreign countries, by levies and transportations; which liberty they embraced, as hath been said before, with all imaginable greediness: and he had entertained agents, and spies, as well friars as others amongst the Irish, who did not only give him timely advertisements of what was concluded to be done, but had interest and power enough to interrupt and disturb the consultations, and to obstruct the execution thereof: and having put all things in this hopeful method of proceeding, in which there was like to be more use of the halter than the sword, he committed the managing of the rest, and the government of the kingdom, to his son-in-law Ireton; whom he made deputy under him of Ireland: a man, who knew the bottom of all his counsels and purposes, and was of the same, or a greater pride and fierceness in his nature, and most inclined to pursue those rules, in the forming whereof he had had the chief influence. And he, without fighting a battle, though he lived not many months after, reduced most of the rest that Cromwell left unfinished.

The marquis of Ormond knew and understood well the desperate condition and state he was in, when he had no other strength and power to depend upon, than that of the Irish, for the support of the king's authority: yet there were many of the nobility and principal gentry of the Irish, in whose loyalty towards the king, and affection and friendship towards his own person, he had justly all confidence;

and there were amongst the clergy some moderate men, who did detest the savage ignorance of the rest: so that he entertained still some hope, that the wiser would by degrees convert the weaker, and that they would all understand how inseparable their own preservation and interest was from the support of the king's dignity and authority, and that the wonderful judgments of God, which were every day executed by Ireton upon the principal and most obstinate contrivers of their odious rebellion, and who perversely and peevishly opposed their return to their obedience to the king, as often as they fell into his power, would awaken them out of their sottish lethargy, and unite them in the defence of their nation. For there was scarce a man, whose bloody and brutish behaviour in the beginning of the rebellion, or whose barbarous violation of the peace that had been consented to, had exempted them from the king's mercy, and left them only subjects of his justice, as soon as they could be apprehended, who was not taken by Ireton, and hanged with all the circumstances of severity that was due to their wickedness; of which innumerable examples might be given.

There yet remained free from Cromwell's yoke, the two large provinces of Connaught and of Ulster, in which are the two strong cities of Limerick and of Galloway, both garrisoned with Irish, and excellently supplied with all things necessary for their defence, and many other good port towns, and other strong places; all which pretended and professed to be for the king, and to yield obedience to the marquis of Ormond, his majesty's lieutenant. And there were still many good regiments of horse and foot together under Preston, who seemed to be ready to perform any service the marquis should require: so that he did reasonably hope, that by complying with some of their humours, by sacrificing somewhat of his honour, and much of his authority, to their jealousy and peevishness, he should be able to draw such a strength together, as would give a stop to Ireton's career. O'Neile at this time, after he had been so baffled and affronted by the parliament, and after he had seen his bosom friend, and sole counsellor, the bishop of Clogher, (who had managed the treaty with Monk, and was taken prisoner upon the defeat of a party of horse,) carried before Ireton, and by his order hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, sent "to offer his service to the marquis of Ormond with the army under his command, upon such conditions as the marquis thought fit to consent to;" and it was reasonably believed that he did intend very sincerely, and would have done very good service; for he was the best soldier of the nation, and had the most command over his men, and was best obeyed by them. But, as he was upon his march towards a conjunction with the lord lieutenant, he fell sick; and, in a few days, died: so that that treaty produced no effect; for though many of his army prosecuted his resolution, and joined with the marquis of Ormond, yet their officers had little power over their soldiers; who, being all of the old Irish Septs of Ulster, were entirely governed by the friars, and were shortly after prevailed upon, either to transport themselves, or to retire to their bogs, and prey for themselves upon all they met, without distinction of persons or interest.

The marquis's orders for drawing the troops together to any rendezvous were totally neglected and disobeyed; and the commissioners' orders for the collection of money, and contribution in such proportions as had been settled and agreed unto, were as much contemned: so that such regiments, as with great difficulty were brought together, were as soon dissolved for want of pay, order, and accommodation; or else dispersed by the power of the friars; as in the city of Limerick, when the marquis was there, and had appointed several companies to be drawn into the market-place, to be employed upon a present expedition, an officer of good affections, and thought to have much credit with his soldiers, brought with him two hundred very likely soldiers well armed, and disciplined, and having received his orders from the marquis, who was upon the place, begun to march; when a Franciscan friar in his habit, and with a crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the company, and commanded them all, "upon pain of damnation, that they should not march:" upon which they all threw down their arms, and did as the friar directed them; who put the whole city into a mutiny: insomuch as the lord lieutenant was compelled to go out of it, and not without some difficulty escaped; though most of the magistrates of the city did all that was in their power to suppress the disorder, and to reduce the people to obedience; and some of them were killed, and many wounded in the attempt. As an instance of those judgments from heaven which we lately mentioned in general, Patrick Fanning, who with the friar had the principal part in that sedition, the very next night after Ireton was without a blow possessed of that strong city, was apprehended, and the next day hanged, drawn, and quartered. Such of the commissioners who adhered firmly to the lord lieutenant, in using all their power to advance the king's service, and to reduce their miserable countrymen from effecting and contriving their own destruction, were without any credit, and all their warrants and summons neglected; when the others, who declined the service, and desired to obstruct it, had all respect and submission paid to them.

They who appeared, after the first misfortune before Dublin, to corrupt, and mislead, and dishearten the people, were the friars, and some of their inferior clergy. But now the titular bishops, who had been all made at Rome since the beginning of the rebellion, appeared more active than the other. They called an assembly of the bishops, (every one of which had signed the articles of the peace,) and chosen clergy as a representative of their church to meet with all formality at James Town; where, under the pretence of providing for the security of religion, they examined the whole proceedings of the war, and how the monies which had been collected had been issued out. They called the giving up the towns in Munster by the lord Inchiquin's officers, "the conspiracy and treachery of all the English, out of their malice to catholic religion;" and thereupon pressed the lord lieutenant to dismiss all the English gentlemen who yet remained with him. They called every unprosperous accident that had fallen out, "a foul miscarriage;" and published a declaration full of libellous invectives against the English, without sparing the person of the lord lieutenant; who, they said, "being of a contrary religion, and a known inveterate enemy to the catholic, was not fit to be intrusted with the conduct of a war that was raised for the support and preservation of it;" and shortly after sent an address to the lord lieutenant himself, in which they told him, "that the people were so far unsatisfied with his conduct, especially for his aversion from the catholic religion, and his favouring heretics, that they were unanimously resolved, as one man, not to submit any longer to his command, nor to raise any more money, or men, to be applied to the king's service under his authority." But, on the other side, they assured him, "that their duty and zeal was so entire and real for the king, and their resolution so absolute never to withdraw themselves from his obedience, that, if he would depart the kingdom, and commit the command thereof into the hands of any person of honour of the catholic religion, he would thereby unite the whole nation to the king; and they would immediately raise an army that should drive Ireton quickly again into Dublin;" and, that the lord lieutenant might know that they would not depart from this determination, they published soon after an excommunication against all persons who should obey any of the lieutenant's orders, or raise money or men by virtue of his authority.

During all these agitations, many of the Roman catholic nobility, and other persons of the best quality, remained very faithful to the lord lieutenant; and cordially interposed with the bishops to prevent their violent proceedings; but had not power either to persuade or restrain them. The lord lieutenant had no reason to be delighted with his empty title to command a people who would not obey, and knew the daily danger he was in, of being betrayed, and delivered into the hands of Ireton, or being assassinated in his own quarters. And though he did not believe that the Irish would behave themselves with more fidelity and courage for the king's interest, when he should be gone; well knowing that their bishops and clergy designed nothing but to put themselves under the government of some popish prince, and had at that time sent agents into foreign parts for that purpose; yet he knew likewise that there were in truth men enough, and arms, and all provisions for the carrying on the war, who, if they were united, and heartily resolved to preserve themselves, would be much superior in number to any power Ireton could bring against them. He knew likewise, that he could safely deposit the king's authority in the hands of a person of unquestionable fidelity, whom the king would, without any scruple, trust, and whom the Irish could not except against, being of their own nation, of the greatest fortune and interest amongst them, and of the most eminent constancy to the Roman catholic religion of any man in the three kingdoms; and that was the marquis of Clanrickard. And therefore, since it was to no purpose to stay longer there himself, and it was in his power safely to make the experiment, whether the Irish would in truth perform what was in their power to perform, and which they so solemnly promised to do, he thought he should be inexcusable to the king, if he should not consent to that expedient. The great difficulty was to persuade the marquis of Clanrickard to accept the trust, who was a man, though of an unquestionable courage, yet, of an infirm health; and loved and enjoyed great ease throughout his whole life; and of a constitution not equal to the fatigue and distresses, that the conducting such a war must subject him to. He knew well, and monstrously detested, the levity, inconstancy, and infidelity of his countrymen: nor did he in any degree like the presumption of the popish bishops and clergy, and the exorbitant power which they had assumed, and usurped to themselves; and therefore he had no mind to engage himself in such a command. But by the extraordinary importunity of the marquis of Ormond, with whom he had preserved a fast and unshaken friendship, and his pressing him to preserve Ireland to the king, without which it would throw itself into the arms of a foreigner; and then the same importunity from all the Irish nobility, bishops, and clergy, (after the lord lieutenant had informed them of his purpose,) "that he would preserve his nation, which, without his acceptance of their protection, would infallibly be extirpated," and their joint promise, "that they would absolutely submit to all his commands, and hold no assembly or meeting amongst themselves, without his permission and commission," together with his unquestionable desire to do any thing, how contrary soever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the king, and might possibly bring some advantage to his majesty's service, he was in the end prevailed upon to receive a commission from the lord lieutenant to be deputy of Ireland, and undertook that charge.

How well they complied afterwards with their promises and protestations, and how much better subjects they proved to be under their catholic governor, than they had been under their protestant, will be related at large hereafter. In the mean time the marquis of Ormond would not receive a pass from Ireton, who would willingly have granted it, as he did to all the English officers that desired it; but embarked himself, with some few gentlemen besides his own servants, in a small frigate, and arrived safely in Normandy; and so went to Caen; where his wife and family had remained from the time of his departure thence. This was shortly after the king's defeat at Worcester, and, as soon as his majesty arrived at Paris, he forthwith attended him, and was most welcome to him.

Scotland being thus subdued, and Ireland reduced to that obedience as the parliament could wish, nothing could be expected to be done in England for the king's advantage. From the time that Cromwell was chosen general in the place of Fairfax, he took all occasions to discountenance the presbyterians, and to put them out of all trust and employment, as well in the country as in the army; and, whilst he was in Scotland, he had intercepted some letters from one Love, a presbyterian minister in London, (a fellow who hath been mentioned before, in the time the treaty was at Uxbridge, for preaching against peace,) to a leading preacher in Scotland; and sent such an information against him, with so many successive instances that justice might be exemplarily done upon him, that, in spite of all the opposition which the presbyterians could make, who appeared publicly with their utmost power, the man was condemned and executed upon Tower-hill. And, to shew their impartiality, at the same time and place, they executed Brown Bushel, who had formerly served the parliament in the beginning of the rebellion, and shortly after served the king to the end of the war, and had lived some years in England after the war expired, untaken notice of, but, upon this occasion, and to accompany this preacher, was enviously discovered, and put to death.

It is a wonderful thing what operation this presbyterian spirit had upon the minds of those who were possessed by it. This poor man Love, who had been guilty of as much treason against the king, from the beginning of the rebellion, as the pulpit could contain, was so much without remorse for any wickedness of that kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing so much, as of being suspected to repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his affection to the king. And therefore, when he was upon the scaffold, where he appeared with a marvellous undauntedness,[1] he seemed so much delighted with the memory of all that he had done against the late king, and against the bishops, that he was even then transported to speak with animosity and bitterness against both, and expressed great satisfaction in mind for what he had done against them, and was as much transported with the inward joy of mind, that he felt in being brought thither to die as a martyr, and to give testimony for the covenant; "whatsoever he had done being in the pursuit of the ends," he said, "of that sanctified obligation, to which he was in and by his conscience engaged." And in this raving fit, without so much as praying for the king, otherwise than that he might propagate the covenant, he laid his head upon the block with as much courage as the bravest and honestest man could do in the most pious occasion.

When Cromwell returned to London, he caused several high courts of justice to be erected, by which many gentlemen of quality were condemned, and executed in many parts of the kingdom, as well as in London, who had been taken prisoners at Worcester, or discovered to have been there. And, that the terror might be universal, some were put to death for loose discourses in taverns, what they would do towards restoring the king, and others for having blank commissions found in their hands signed by the king, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought appeared, intended to do. And under these desolate apprehensions all the royal and loyal party lay groveling, and prostrate, after the defeat of Worcester.

There was at this time with the king the marquis of Ormond; who came thither before the chancellor of the exchequer. Though his majesty was now in unquestionable safety, the straits and necessities he was in were as unquestionable; which exposed him to all the troubles and uneasiness that the masters of very indigent families are subjected to; and the more, because all men considered only his quality, and not his fortune: so that men had the same emulations and ambitions, as if the king had all to give which was taken from him, and thought it a good argument for them to ask, because he had nothing to give; and asked very improper reversions, because he could not grant the possession; and were solicitous for honours, which he had power to grant, because he had no fortunes which he could give them.

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[1] Had the presbyterians ever gained the power, (though they had then the name of the national church,) this fanatic Love had been at the head of their red-lettered saints.---W.

There had been a great acquaintance between the marquis of Ormond, when he was lord Thurles, in the life of his grandfather, and the chancellor of the exchequer, which was renewed, by a mutual correspondence, when they both came to have shares in the public business, the one in Ireland, and the other in England: so that when they now met at Paris, they met as old friends, and quickly understood each other so well, that there could not be a more entire confidence between men. The marquis consulted with him in his nearest concernments, and the chancellor esteemed and cultivated the friendship with all possible industry and application. The king was abundantly satisfied in the friendship they had for each other, and trusted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavoured by persons of no ordinary account, to break or interrupt that mutual confidence between them, during the whole time the king remained beyond the seas; whereby the king's perplexed affairs were carried on with the less trouble. And the chancellor did always acknowledge, that the benefit of this friendship was so great to him, that, without it, he could not have borne the weight of that part of the king's business which was incumbent on him, nor the envy and reproach that attended the trust; and the marquis conferred his friendship upon him with much the more generosity, in that he plainly discerned that he should enjoy the loss of the queen's favour, by the conjunction he had made with the chancellor, who was yet looked upon with no ungracious eye by her majesty.

Besides the wants and necessities which the king was pressed with in respect of himself, who had nothing, but was obliged to provide himself by credit in clothes, and all other necessaries for his person, and of his family, which he saw reduced to all extremities; he was much disquieted by the necessities in his brother the duke of York's family, which the queen did not provide for in the least degree, and by the disorder and faction in it. The queen complained heavily of sir George Ratcliff, and the attorney; and more of the first, because that he pretended to some right of being of the duke's family, by a grant of the late king; which his present majesty determined against him; and reprehended his activity in the last summer. Sir John Berkley had most of the queen's favour; and, though he had at that time no interest in the duke's affection, he found a way to ingratiate himself with his royal highness, by insinuating into him two particulars, in both which he foresaw advantage to himself. Though no man acted the governor's part more imperiously than he had done whilst the lord Byron was absent, finding that he himself was liable in some degree to be governed upon that lord's return, he had used all the ways he could, that the duke might be exempted from any subjection to a governor, presuming, that, when that title should be extinguished, he should be possessed of some such office and relation, as should not be under the control of any but the duke himself. But he had not yet been able to bring that to pass; which was the reason that he stayed in Paris when his highness visited Flanders and Holland. Now he took advantage of the activity of the duke's spirit, and infused into him, "that it would be for his honour to put himself into action, and not to be learning his exercises in Paris whilst the army was in the field:" a proposition first intimated by the cardinal, "that the duke was now of years to learn his *métier*, and had now the opportunity to improve himself, by being in the care of a general reputed equal to any captain in Christendom, with whom he might learn that experience, and make those observations, as might enable him to serve the king his brother, who must hope to recover his right only by the sword." This the cardinal had said both to the queen and to the lord Jermyn, whilst the king was in Scotland, when no man had the hardiness to advise it in that conjuncture. But, after the king's return from England, there wanted nothing but the approbation of his majesty ; and no man more desired it than the lord Byron, who had had good command, and preferred that kind of life before that which he was obliged to live in at Paris. There was no need of spurs to be employed to incite the duke ; who was most impatient to be in the army. And therefore sir John Berkley could not any other way make himself so grateful to him, as by appearing to be of that mind, and by telling the duke, " that whosoever opposed it, and dissuaded the king from giving his consent, was an enemy to his highness's glory, and desired that he should live always in pupilage ;" not omitting to put him in mind, "that his very entrance into the army set him at liberty, and put him into his own disposal ; since no man went into the field under the direction of a governor ;" still endeavouring to improve his prejudice against those who should either dissuade him from pursuing that resolution, or endeavour to persuade the king not to approve it ; " which," he told him, " could proceed from nothing but want of affection to his person." By this means he hoped to raise a notable dislike in him of the chancellor of the exchequer, who, he believed, did not like the design, because he having spoken to him of it, the other had not enlarged upon it as an argument that pleased him.

The duke pressed it with earnestness and passion, in which he dissembled not ; and found the queen, as well as the king, very reserved in the point ; which proceeded from their tenderness towards him, and lest they might be thought to be less tender of his safety than they ought to be. His highness then conferred with those, who, he thought, were most like to be consulted with by the king, amongst whom he knew the chancellor was one ; and finding him to speak with less warmth than the rest, as if he thought it a matter worthy of great deliberation, his highness was confirmed in the jealousy which sir John Berkley had kindled in him, that he was the principal person who obstructed the king's condescension. There was at that time no man with the king who had been a counsellor to his father, or sworn to himself, but the chancellor of the exchequer. The marquis of Ormond, though he had administered the affairs in Ireland, was never sworn a counsellor in England; yet his majesty looked upon him in all respects most fit to advise him; and thought it necessary to form such a body, as should be esteemed by all men as his privy council, without whose advice he would take no resolutions. The king knew the queen would not be well pleased, if the lord Jermyn were not one; who in all other respects was necessary to that trust, in respect all addresses to the court of France were to be made by him: and the lord Wilmot, who had cultivated the king's affection during the time of their peregrination, and drawn many promises from him, and was full of projects for his service, could not be left out. The king therefore called the marquis of Ormond, the lord Jermyn, and the lord Wilmot, to the council board; and declared, "that they three, together with the chancellor of the exchequer, should be consulted with in all his affairs." The queen very earnestly pressed the king, "that sir John Berkley might likewise be made a counsellor;" which his majesty would not consent to; and thought he could not refuse the same honour to the lord Wentworth, the lord Byron, or any other person of honour who should wait upon him, if he granted it to sir John Berkley, who had no manner of pretence.

Berkley took this refusal very heavily, and thought his great parts, and the services he had performed, which were known to very few, might well enough distinguish him from other men. But, because he would not be thought without some just pretence which others had not, he very confidently insisted upon a right he had, by a promise of the late king, to be master of the wards; and that officer had usually been of the privy council. The evidence he had of that promise was an intercepted letter from the late king to the queen, which the parliament had caused to be printed. In that letter the king answered a letter he had received from her majesty, in which she put him in mind, "that he had promised her to make Jack Berkley" (which was the style in the letter) "master of the wards;" which, the king said, "he wondered at, since he could not remember that she had ever spoken to him to that purpose;" implying likewise "that he was not fit for it." He pressed the chancellor of the exchequer "to urge this matter of right to the king," (and said, "the queen would declare the king had promised it to her,) and to prevail with his majesty to make him presently master of the wards; which would give him such a title to the board, that others could not take his being called thither as a prejudice to them."

The chancellor had at that time much kindness for him, and did really desire to oblige him, but he durst not urge that for a reason to the king, which could be none, and what he knew, as well as a negative could be known, had no foundation of truth. For besides that he very well knew the late king had not so good an opinion of sir John Berkley, as he himself did at that time heartily wish, and endeavour to infuse into him, the king had, after that promise was pretended to be made, granted that office at Oxford to the lord Cottington; who executed it as long as offices were executed under the grant of the crown, and was possessed of the title to his death. The chancellor did therefore very earnestly endeavour to dissuade him from making that pretence and demand to the king; and told him, "the king could not at this time do a more ungracious thing, and that would lose him more the hearts and affections of the nobility and gentry of England, than in making a master of the wards, in a time when it would not be the least advantage to his majesty or the officer, to declare that he resolved to insist upon that part of his prerogative which his father had consented to part with; the resuming whereof in the full rigour, which he might lawfully do, would ruin most of the estates of England, as well of his friends as enemies, in regard of the vast arrears incurred in so many years; and therefore whatever his majesty might think to resolve hereafter, when it should please God to restore him, for the present there must be no thought of such an officer."

Sir John Berkley was not satisfied at all with the reason that was alleged; and very unsatisfied with the unkindness (as he called it) of the refusal to interpose in it; and said, "since his friends would not, he would himself require justice of the king;" and immediately, hearing that the king was in the next room, went to him; and in the warmth he had contracted by the chancellor's contradiction, pressed his majesty "to make good the promise his father had made;" and magnified the services he had done; which he did really believe to have been very great, and, by the custom of making frequent relations of his own actions, grew in very good earnest to think he had done many things which nobody else ever heard of.[1] The king, who knew him very well, and believed little of his history, and less of his father's promise, was willing rather to reclaim him from his importunity, than to give him a positive denial, (which in his nature his majesty affected not,) lest it might indispose his mother or his brother: and so, to every part of his request concerning the being of the council, and concerning the office, gave him such reasons against the gratifying him for the present, that he could not but plainly discern that his majesty was very averse from it. But that consideration prevailed not with him; he used so great importunity, notwithstanding all the reasons which had been alleged, that at the last the king prevailed with himself, which he used not to do in such cases, to give him a positive denial, and reprehension, at once; and so left him.

All this he imputed to the chancellor of the exchequer; and though he knew well he had not, nor could have spoken with the king from the time they had spoken together, before himself had that audience from his majesty, he declared, "that he knew all that indisposition had been infused by him; because many of the reasons, which his majesty had given against his doing what he desired, were the very same that the chancellor had urged to him;" though they could not but have occurred to any reasonable man, who had been called to consult upon that subject. This passion prevailed so far upon him, that, notwithstanding the advice of some of his best friends to the contrary, he took an opportunity to walk into the long gallery of the Louvre with the chancellor shortly after: and, in a very calm, though a very confused discourse, told him, "that, since he was resolved to break all friendship with him, which had continued now near twenty years, he thought it but just to give him notice of it, that from henceforward he might not expect any friendship from him, but that they might live towards each other with that civility only that strangers use to do." The chancellor told him, "that the same justice that disposed him to give this notice, should likewise oblige him to declare the reason of this resolution;" and asked him, "whether he had ever broken his word to him? or promised to do what he had not done?" He answered, "his exception was, that he could not be brought to make any promise; and that their judgments were so different, that he would no more depend upon him:" and so they parted, without ever after having conversation with each other whilst they remained in France.

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[1] By that time a liar has lost credit with every body else, he comes to believe himself.—W.

The spring was now advanced, and the duke of York continued his importunity with the king, "that he might have his leave to repair to the army." And thereupon his majesty called his council together, the queen his mother and his brother being likewise present. There his majesty declared "what his brother had long desired of him; to which he had hitherto given no other answer, than that he would think of it; and before he could give any other, he thought it necessary to receive their advice:" nor did his majesty in the least discover what he himself was inclined to. The duke then repeated what he had desired of the king; and said, "he thought he asked nothing but what became him; if he did not, he hoped the king would not deny it to him, and that nobody would advise he should." The queen spoke not a word; and the king required the lords to deliver their opinion; who all sat silent, expecting who would begin; there being no fixed rule of the board, but sometimes, according to the nature of the business, he who was first in place begun, at other times he who was last in quality; and when it required some debate before any opinion should be delivered, any man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long silence, the king commanded the chancellor of the exchequer to speak first. He said, "it could not be expected, that he would deliver his opinion in a matter that was so much too hard for him, till he heard what others thought; at least, till the question was otherwise stated than it yet seemed to him to be." He said, "he thought the council would not be willing to take it upon them to advise that the duke of York, the next heir to the crown, should go a volunteer into the French army, and that the exposing himself to so much danger, should be the effect of their counsel who ought to have all possible tenderness for the safety of every branch of the royal family; but if the duke of York, out of his own princely courage, and to attain experience in the art of war, of which there was like to be so great use, had taken a resolution to visit the army, and to spend that campaign in it, and that the question only was, whether the king should restrain him from that expedition, he was ready to declare his opinion, that his majesty should not; there being great difference between the king's advising him to go, which implies an approbation, and barely suffering him to do what his own genius inclined him to." The king and queen liked the stating of the question, as suiting best with the tenderness they ought to have; and the duke was as well pleased with it, since it left him at the liberty he desired; and the lords thought it safest for them: and so all were pleased; and much of the prejudice which the duke had entertained towards the chancellor was abated: and his royal highness, with the good liking of the French court, went to the army; where he was received by the marshal of Turenne, with all possible demonstration of respect; where, in a short time, he got the reputation of a prince of very signal courage, and to be universally beloved of the whole army by his affable behaviour.

The insupportable necessities of the king were now grown so notorious, that the French court was compelled to take notice of them; and thereupon, with some dry compliments for the smallness of the assignation in respect of the ill condition of their affairs, which indeed were not in any good posture, they settled a grant of six thousand livres by the month upon the king, payable out of such a gabel; which, beginning six months after the king came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily satisfied out of such a monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The queen, at his majesty's first arrival, had declared, "that she was not able to bear the charge of the king's diet, but that he must pay one half of the expense of her table, where both their majesties eat, with the duke of York, and the princess Henrietta," (which two were at the queen's charge till the king came thither, but from that time, the duke of York was upon the king's account,) and the very first night's supper which the king eat with the queen, begun the account; and a moiety thereof was charged to the king: so that the first money that was received for the king upon his grant, was entirely stopped by sir Harry Wood, the queen's treasurer, for the discharge of his majesty's part of the queen's table, (which expense was first satisfied, as often as money could be procured,) and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted, at his first coming, for clothes and other necessaries, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his servants; the marquis of Ormond himself being compelled to put himself in pension, with the chancellor and some other gentlemen, with a poor English woman, the wife of one of the king's servants, at a pistole a week for his diet, and to walk the streets on foot, which was no honourable custom in Paris; whilst the lord Jermyn kept an excellent table for those who courted him, and had a coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune; and if the king had the most urgent occasion for the use but of twenty pistoles, as sometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it; which he often had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from receiving the supply assigned by the king of France, his necessities would not have been so extraordinary. For when the king went to Jersey in order to his journey into Ireland, and at the same time that he sent the chancellor of the exchequer into Spain, he sent likewise the lord Colepepper into Moscow, to borrow money of that duke; and into Poland he sent Mr. Crofts upon the same errand. The former returned whilst the king was in Scotland; and the latter about the time that his majesty made his escape from Worcester. And both of them succeeded so well in their journey, that he who received least for his majesty's service had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expense of their journeys.

But, as if the king had been out of all possible danger to want money, the lord Jermyn had sent an express into Scotland, as soon as he knew what success the lord Colepepper had at Moscow, and found there were no less hopes from Mr. Crofts, and procured from the king (who could with more ease grant, than deny) warrants under his hand to both those ambassadors, to pay the monies they had received to several persons; whereof a considerable sum was made a present to the queen, more to the lord Jermyn, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminished by that receipt, and all disposed of according to the modesty of the askers; whereof Dr. Goffe had eight hundred pounds for services he had performed, and, within few days after the receipt of it, changed his religion, and became one of the fathers of the oratory: so that, when the king returned in all that distress to Paris, he never received five hundred pistoles from the proceed of both those embassies; nor did any of those who were supplied by his bounty seem sensible of the obligation, or the more disposed to do him any service upon their own expense; of which the king was sensible enough, but resolved to bear that and more, rather than, by entering into any expostulation with those who were faulty,[1] to give any trouble to the queen.[2]

The lord Jermyn, who, in his own judgment, was very indifferent in all matters relating to religion, was always of some faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the presbyterians from the time that there had been any treaties with the Scots, in which he had too much privity. And now, upon the king's return into France, he had a great design to persuade his majesty to go to the congregation at Charenton, to the end that he might keep up his interest in the presbyterian party; which he had no reason to believe would ever be able to do the king service, or willing, if they were able, without such odious conditions as they had hitherto insisted upon in all their overtures. The queen did not, in the least degree, oppose this, but rather seemed to countenance it, as the best expedient that might incline him, by degrees, to prefer the religion of the church of Rome. For though the queen had never, to this time, by herself, or by others with her advice, used the least means to persuade the king to change his religion, as well out of observation of the

[1] Jermyn.—W.

[2] She c——— her husband, and plundered, when she could not rule, her son.—W.

injunction laid upon her by the deceased king, as out of the conformity of her own judgment, which could not but persuade her that the change of his religion would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering England desperate ; yet it is as true, that, from the king's return from Worcester, she did really despair of his being restored by the affections of his own subjects ; and believed that it could never be brought to pass without a conjunction of catholic princes on his behalf, and by an united force to restore him ; and that such a conjunction would never be entered into, except the king himself became Roman catholic. Therefore from this time she was very well content that any attempts should be made upon him to that purpose ; and, in that regard, wished that he would go to Charenton ; which she well knew was not the religion he affected, but would be a little discountenance to the church in which he had been bred ; and from which as soon as he could be persuaded in any degree to swerve, he would be more exposed to any other temptation. The king had not positively refused to gratify the ministers of that congregation ; who, with great professions of duty, had besought him to do them that honour, before the chancellor of the exchequer came to him ; in which it was believed, that they were the more like to prevail by the death of Dr. Steward ; for whose judgment in matters of religion the king had reverence, by the earnest recommendation of his father : and he died after the king's return within fourteen days, with some trouble upon the importunity and artifice he saw used to prevail with the king to go to Charenton, though he saw no disposition in his majesty to yield to it.

The lord Jermyn still pressed it, " as a thing that ought in policy and discretion to be done, to reconcile that people, which was a great body in France, to the king's service, which would draw to him all the foreign churches, and thereby he might receive considerable assistance." He wondered, he said, " why it should be opposed by any man ; since he did not wish that his majesty would discontinue his own devotions, according to the course he had always observed ; nor propose that he should often repair thither, but only sometimes, at least once, to shew that he did look upon them as of the same religion with him ; which the church of

England had always acknowledged; and that it had been an instruction to the English ambassadors, that they should keep a good correspondence with those of the religion, and frequently resort to divine service at Charenton; where they had always a pew kept for them."

The chancellor of the exchequer dissuaded his majesty from going thither with equal passion; told him, "that, whatever countenance or favour the crown or church of England had heretofore shewed to those congregations, it was in a time when they carried themselves with modesty and duty towards both, and when they professed great duty to the king, and much reverence to that church; lamenting themselves, that it was not in their power, by the opposition of the state, to make their reformation so perfect as it was in England. And by this kind of behaviour they had indeed received the protection and countenance from England as if they were of the same religion, though, it may be, the original of that countenance and protection proceeded from another less warrantable foundation;[1] which he was sure would never find credit from his majesty. But, whatever it was, that people now had undeserved it from the king; for, as soon as the troubles begun, the Hugonots of France had generally expressed great malice to the late king, and very many of their preachers and ministers had publicly and industriously justified the rebellion, and prayed for the good success of it; and their synod itself had in such a manner inveighed against the church of England, that they, upon the matter, professed themselves to be of another religion; and inveighed against episcopacy, as if it were inconsistent with the protestant religion. That their great professor at their university of Saumur, monsieur Amirant, who was looked upon as a man of the most moderate spirit amongst their ministers, had published an apology for the general inclination of that party to the proceedings of the parliament of England, lest it might give some jealousy to their own king of their inclination to rebellion, and of their opinion that it was lawful for subjects to take up arms against their prince;

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[1] i. e. countenanced by men indifferent to episcopacy, and favouring the puritans for political ends.—W.

which, he said, could not be done in France without manifest rebellion, and incurring the displeasure of God for the manifest breach of his commandments; because the king of France is an absolute king, independent upon any other authority. But that the constitution of the kingdom of England was of another nature; because the king there is subordinate to the parliament, which hath authority to raise arms for the reformation of religion, or for the executing the public justice of the kingdom against all those who violate the laws of the nation, so that the war might be just there, which in no case could be warrantable in France."

The chancellor told the king,[1] "that, after such an indignity offered to him, and to his crown, and since they had now made such a distinction between the episcopal and the presbyterian government, that they thought the professors were not of the same religion, his going to Charenton could not be without this effect, that it would be concluded every where, that his majesty had renounced the church of England, and betaken himself to that of Charenton, at least that he thought the one and the other to be indifferent; which would be one of the most deadly wounds to the church of England that it had yet ever suffered." These reasons prevailed so far with the king's own natural aversion from what had been proposed, that he declared positively, "he would never go to Charenton;" which determination eased him from any further application of that people. The reproach of this resolution was wholly charged upon the chancellor of the exchequer, as the implacable enemy of all presbyterians,[2] and as the only man who diverted the king from having a good opinion of them: whereas in truth, the daily information he received from the king himself of their barbarous behaviour in Scotland towards him, and of their insupportable pride and pedantry in their manners, did confirm him in the judgment he had always made of their religion; and he was the more grievous to those of that profession, because they could not, as they used to do to all those who opposed and crossed them in that manner, accuse him of being popishly affected, and governed by the papists; to whom they knew he was equally odious; and the queen's knowing him to be most disaffected to her religion, made her willing to appear most displeased for his hindering the the king from going to Charenton.[1]

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[1] It must be owned, that what the chancellor of the exchequer said to the king on this occasion, shewed, that the king's dignity and interest forbade him to go to Charenton.—W.

[2] An honest man at this time could hardly be otherwise, when he reflected, that when the king had, by the early virtue of his parliament, made full satisfaction and atonement to his people for his preceding ill government, the incendiary presbyterian ministers drove the nation into this fatal war, big with private and public ruin.—W.

There was another accident, which fell out at this time, and which the chancellor of the exchequer foresaw would exceedingly increase the queen's prejudice to him; which he did very heartily desire to avoid, and to recover her majesty's favour by all the ways he could pursue with his duty; and, did never, in the least degree, dispose his majesty to deny any thing to her which she owned the desire of. Lieutenant general Middleton, who had been taken prisoner after Worcester fight, after he was recovered of his wounds was sent prisoner to the Tower of London; where were likewise many noble persons of that nation, as the earl of Crawford, the earl of Lautherdale, and many others. But as they of the parliament had a greater reverence for Middleton than for any other of that nation, knowing him to be a man of great honour and courage, and much the best officer the Scots had, so they had a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought they had him at their mercy, and might proceed against him more warrantably for his life, than against their other prisoners; because he had heretofore, in the beginning of the war, served them; and though he had quitted their service at the same time when they cashiered the earl of Essex, and made their new model, and was at liberty to do what he thought best for himself, yet they resolved to free themselves from any further apprehensions and fear of him: to that purpose they erected a new high court of justice, for the trial of some persons who had been troublesome to them, and especially Middleton and Massey.

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[1] By this the noble historian would insinuate, that the queen disguised her real motive of aversion to him, which was not (*as she was willing to make appear*) his aversion to popery, but his keeping the king from being governed by her. This the following paragraph makes still more evident.—W.

This last, after he had escaped from Worcester, and travelled two or three days, found himself so tormented and weakened by his wounds, that being near the seat of the earl of Stamford, whose lieutenant colonel he had been in the beginning of the war, and being well known to his lady, he chose to commit himself to her rather than to her husband; hoping, that in honour she would have found some means to preserve him. But the lady had only charity to cure his wounds, not courage to conceal his person;[1] and such advertisements were given of him, that, as soon as he was fit to be removed, he was likewise sent to the Tower, and destined to be sacrificed by the high court of justice together with Middleton, for the future security of the commonwealth.

But now the presbyterian interest shewed itself, and doubtless, in enterprises of this nature, was very powerful; having in all places persons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their orders, though they did not pretend to be of their party. And the time approaching that they were sure Middleton was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him so good and particular advertisement, that he took his leave of his friends in the Tower, and made his escape; and having friends enough to shelter him in London, after he had concealed himself there a fortnight or three weeks, that the diligence of the first examination and inquiry was over, he was safely transported into France. And within few days after, Massey had the same good fortune, to the grief and vexation of the very soul of Cromwell; who thirsted for the blood of those two persons.

When Middleton came to the king to Paris, he brought with him a little Scottish vicar, who was known to the king, one Mr. Knox, who brought letters of credit to his majesty, and some propositions from his friends in Scotland, and other despatches from the lords in the Tower, with whom he had conferred after Middleton had escaped from thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was struck into the hearts of that whole nation by the severe proceedings of general Monk, to whose care Cromwell had committed the reduction of that kingdom, upon the taking of Dundee, where persons of all degrees and qualities were put to the sword for many hours after the town was entered, and all left to plunder; upon which all other places rendered. All men complained of the marquis of Argyle, who prosecuted the king's friends with the utmost malice, and protected and preserved the rest according to his desire. He gave the king assurance from the most considerable persons, who had retired into the Highlands, "that they would never swerve from their duty; and that they would be able, during the winter, to infest the enemy by incursions into their quarters; and that, if Middleton might be sent to them with some supply of arms, they would have an army ready against the spring, strong enough to meet with Monk." He said, "he was addressed from Scotland to the lords in the Tower, who did not then know that Middleton had arrived in safety with the king; and therefore they had commanded him, if neither Middleton nor the lord Newburgh were about his majesty, that then he should repair to the marquis of Ormond, and desire him to present him to the king; but that, having found both those lords there, he had made no further application than to them, who had brought him to his majesty." He told the king, "that both those in Scotland, and those in the Tower, made it their humble request, or rather a condition to his majesty; that, except it were granted, they would no more think of serving his majesty: the condition was, that whatever should have relation to his service in Scotland, and to their persons who were to venture their lives in it, might not be communicated to the queen, the duke of Buckingham, the lord Jermyn, or the lord Wilmot. They professed all duty to the queen, but they knew she had too good an opinion of the marquis of Argyle; who would infallibly come to know whatever was known to either of the other."

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[1] This is expressed as if Massey had desired her protection, and she had not honour or *courage* enough to grant it. Whereas in the letter he wrote to her on this occasion, he only desires leave, as her son, the lord Grey's prisoner, to stay in her house for the cure of his wounds. See his letter in the newspaper of that time, called Mercurius Politicus, N°. 65.—W.

The king did not expect that any notable service could be performed by his friends in Scotland for his advantage, or their own redemption ; yet did not think it fit to seem to undervalue the professions and overtures of those who had, during his being amongst them, made all possible demonstration of affection and duty to him ; and therefore resolved to grant any thing they desired ; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they proposed to the queen, or the other three lords. But since they proposed present despatches to be made of commissions and letters, he wished them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that service. The next day they attended his majesty again, and desired, "that all matters relating to Scotland might be consulted by his majesty with the marquis of Ormond, the lord Newburgh, and the chancellor of the exchequer ; and that all the despatches might be made by the chancellor ;" which the king consented to ; and bid the lord Newburgh go with them to him, and let him know his majesty's pleasure. And thereupon the lord Newburgh brought Middleton to the chancellor ; who had never seen his face before.

The marquis of Ormond and the chancellor of the exchequer believed that the king had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and that all his activity was to consist in carefully avoiding to do any thing that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the amity of Christian princes, or some such revolution of affairs in England by their own discontents, and divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his majesty again to shew himself. And therefore they proposed nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the queen, that without being received into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy her grace and good acceptation. But the designation of them to this Scottish intrigue, crossed all this imagination, and shook that foundation of peace and tranquillity, upon which they had raised their present hopes : besides that the chancellor was not without some natural prejudice to the ingenuity and sincerity of that nation, and therefore he went presently to the king, and besought him with earnestness, " that he would not lay that burden upon him, or engage him in any part of the counsels of that people." He put his majesty in mind of " the continued avowed jealousy and displeasure which that whole party in that nation had ever had against him ; and that his majesty very well knew, that those noble persons who served him best when he was in Scotland, and in whose affection and fidelity he had all possible satisfaction, had all imaginable prejudice against him, and would be troubled when they should hear that all their secrets were committed to him." He told his majesty, " this trust would for ever deprive him of all hope of the queen's favour ; who could not but discern it within three or four days, and, by the frequent resort of the Scottish Levite to him," (who had the vanity to desire long conferences with him,) " that there was some secret affair in hand which was kept from her ; and she would as easily discover, that the chancellor was privy to it, by his reading papers to his majesty, and his signing them ; and would from thence conclude, that he had persuaded him to exclude her majesty from that trust ; which she would never forgive." Upon the whole, he renewed his importunity, " that he might be excused from this confidence."

The king heard him with patience and attention enough ; and confessed, " that he had reason not to be solicitous for that employment ; but he wished him to consider withal, that he must either undertake it, or that his majesty must in plain terms reject the correspondence, and by it declare that he would no further consider Scotland as his kingdom, and the people as his subjects ; which, he said, he thought he would not advise him to do. If his majesty entertained it, it could not be imagined that all those transactions could pass through his own hand, or, if they could, his being shut up so long alone would make the same discovery. Whom then should he trust? The lord Newburgh, it was very true, was a very honest man, and worthy of any trust ; but he was not a counsellor, and nothing could be so much wondered at, as his frequent being shut up with him ; and more, his bringing any papers to him to be signed. As to the general prejudice which he conceived was against him by that nation," his majesty told him, " the nation was much altered since he had to do with them, and that no men were better loved by them now than they who had from the beginning been faithful to his father and himself." To which he added, " that Middleton had the least in him, of any infirmities most incident to that nation, that he knew: and that he would find him a man of great honour and ingenuity, with whom he would be well pleased." His majesty said, " he would frankly declare to his mother, that he had received some intelligence out of Scotland, and that he was obliged, and had given his word to those whose lives would be forfeited if known, that he would not communicate it with any but those who were chosen by themselves; and, after this, she could not be offended with his reservation :" and concluded with a gracious conjuration and command to the chancellor, " that he should cheerfully submit, and undergo that employment; which, he assured him, should never be attended with prejudice or inconvenience to him." In this manner he submitted himself to the king's disposal, and was trusted throughout that affair; which had several stages in the years following, and did produce the inconveniences he had foreseen, and rendered him so unacceptable to the queen, that she easily entertained those prejudices against him, which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her,[1] and under which he was compelled to bear many hardships.

This uncomfortable condition of the king was rendered yet more desperate, by the straits and necessities into which the French court was about this time plunged: so that they who hitherto had shewed no very good will to assist the king, were now become really unable to do it. The parliament of Paris had behaved themselves so refractorily to all their king's commands, pressed so importunately for the liberty of the princes, and so impatiently for the remove of the cardinal, that the cardinal was at last compelled to persuade the queen to consent to both: and so himself rid to Havre de Grace, and delivered the queen's warrant to set them at liberty, and after a short conference with the prince of Condé, he continued his own journey towards Germany, and passed in disguise, with two or three servants, till he came near Cologne, and there he remained at a house belonging to that elector.

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[1] Jermyn.---W.

When the princes came to Paris, they had received great welcome from the parliament and the city; and instead of closing with the court, which it was thought they would have done, the wound was widened without any hope of reconciliation: so that the king and queen regent withdrew from thence; the town was in arms; and fire and sword denounced against the cardinal; his goods sold at an outcry; and a price set upon his head; and all persons who professed any duty to their king, found themselves very unsafe in Paris. During all this time the queen of England and the king, with their families, remained in the Louvre, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to stay there; the assignments, which had been made for their subsistence, not being paid them: and the loose people of the town begun to talk of the duke of York's being in arms against them. But the duke of Orleans, under whose name all the disorders were committed, and the prince of Condé, visited our king and queen with many professions of civility; but those were shortly abated likewise, when the French king's army came upon one side of the town, and the Spanish, with the duke of Lorrain's, upon the other. The French army thought they had the enemy upon an advantage, and desired to have a battle with them; which the other declined; all which time, the court had an underhand treaty with the duke of Lorrain; and, upon a day appointed, the French king sent to the king of England, to desire him to confer with the duke of Lorrain; who lay then with his army within a mile of the town. There was no reason visible for that desire, nor could it be conceived, that his majesty's interposition could be of moment: yet his majesty knew not how to refuse it; but immediately went to the place assigned; where he found both armies drawn up in battalia within cannon shot of each other. Upon his majesty's coming to the duke of Lorrain, the treaty was again revived, and messages sent between the duke and marshal Turenne. In fine, the night approaching, both armies drew off from their ground, and his majesty returned to the Louvre; and before the next morning, the treaty was finished between the court and the duke of Lorrain; and he marched away with his whole army towards Flanders, and left the Spaniards to support the parliament against the power of the French army; which advanced upon them with that resolution, that, though they defended themselves very bravely, and the prince of Condé did the office of a brave general in the Fauxbourg St. Marceaux, and at the port St. Antoine, in which places many gallant persons of both sides were slain, they had been all cut off, if the city had not been prevailed with to suffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the king's army retired to their old post, four leagues off, and attended future advantages: the king having a very great party in the parliament and the city, which abhorred the receiving and entertaining the Spaniards into their bosom.

This retreat of the duke of Lorrain broke the neck of the prince of Condé's design. He knew well he should not be long able to retain the duke of Orleans from treating with the court, or keep the Parisians at his devotion; and that the duke de Beaufort, whom they had made governor of Paris, would be weary of the contention. For the present, they were all incensed against the duke of Lorrain; and were well enough contented that the people should believe, that this defection in the duke was wrought by the activity and interpositon of the king of England; and they who did know that his interest could not have produced that effect, could not tell how to interpret his majesty's journey to speak with the duke in so unseasonable a conjuncture: so that, as the people expressed, and used all the insolent reproaches against the English court at the Louvre, and loudly threatened to be revenged, so neither the duke of Orleans, nor the prince of Condé, made any visit there, or expressed the least civility towards it. In truth, our king and queen did not think themselves out of danger, nor stirred out of the Louvre for many days, until the French court thought themselves obliged to provide for their security, by advising the king and queen to remove, and assigned St. Germain's to them for their retreat. Then his majesty sent to the duke of Orleans, and prince of Condé, "that their purpose was to leave the town:" upon which there was a guard that attended them out of the town in the evening; which could not be got to be in readiness till then; and they were shortly after met by some troops of horse sent by the French king, which conducted them by torch-light to St. Germain's; where they arrived about midnight; and remained there without any disturbance, till Paris was reduced to that king's obedience.

It is a very hard thing for people who have nothing to do, to forbear doing something which they ought not to do; and the king might well hope that, since he had nothing else left to enjoy, he might have enjoyed quiet and repose; and that a court which had nothing to give, might have been free from faction and ambition; whilst every man had composed himself to bear the ill fortune he was reduced to for conscience sake, which every man pretended to be his case, with submission and content, till it should please God to buoy up the king from the lowness he was in; who in truth suffered much more than any body else. But whilst there are courts in the world, emulation and ambition will be inseparable from them; and kings who have nothing to give, shall be pressed to promise; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and mischievous than any present gifts could be, because they always draw on more of the same title and presence; and as they who receive the favours, are not the more satisfied, so they who are not paid in the same kind, or who, out of modesty and discretion, forbear to make such suits, are grieved and offended to see the vanity and presumption of bold men so unseasonably gratified and encouraged.

The king found no benefit in being stripped of all his dominions, and all his power. Men were as importunate, as hath been said before, for honours, and offices, and revenues, as if they could have taken possession of them as soon as they had been granted, though but by promise: and men who would not have had the presumption to have asked the same thing, if the king had been in England, thought it very justifiable to demand it, because he was not there; since there were so many hazards that they should never live to enjoy what he promised. The vexations he underwent of this kind cannot be expressed; and whosoever succeeded not in his unreasonable desires, imputed it only to the ill nature of the chancellor of the exchequer; and concluded, that he alone obstructed it, because they always received very gracious answers from his majesty: so that though his wants were as visible and notorious as any man's, and it appeared he got nothing for himself, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit and interest he was thought to have with his master.

The lord Wilmot had, by the opportunity of his late conversation with the king in his escape, drawn many kind expressions from his majesty; and he thought he could not be too solicitous to procure such a testimony of his grace and favour, as might distinguish him from other men, and publish the esteem the king had of him. Therefore he importuned his majesty that he would make him an earl, referring the time of his creation to his majesty's own choice: and the modesty of this reference prevailed; the king well knowing, that the same honour would be desired on the behalf of another,[1] by one whom he should be unwilling to deny. But since it was not asked for the present, he promised to do it in a time that should appear to be convenient for his service.

There were projects of another kind, which were much more troublesome; in which the projectors still considered themselves in the first place, and what their condition might prove to be by the success. The duke of York was so well pleased with the fatigue of the war, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his servants did not like that course of life so well, at least desired so far to improve it, that they might reap some advantages to themselves out of his overplus. Sir John Berkley was now, upon the death of the lord Byron, by which the duke was deprived of a very good servant, become the superior of his family, and called himself, without any authority for it, *Intendant des affaires de son altesse royale;* had the management of all his receipts and disbursements; and all the rest depended upon him. He desired, by all ways, to get a better revenue for his master, than the small pension he received from France; and thought no expedient so proper for him, as a wife of a great and noble fortune; which he presumed he should have the managing of.

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[1] Jermyn.—W.

There was then a lady in the town, mademoiselle de Longueville, the daughter of the duke de Longueville by his first wife, by whom she was to inherit a very fair revenue, and had title to a very considerable sum of money, which her father was obliged to account for: so that she was looked upon as one of the greatest and richest marriages in France, in respect of her fortune; in respect of her person not at all attractive, being a lady of a very low stature, and that stature no degree straight. This lady sir John designed for the duke; and treated with those ladies who were nearest to her, and had been trusted with the education of her, before he mentioned it to his royal highness. Then he persuaded him, "that all hopes in England were desperate: that the government was so settled there, that it could never be shaken; so that his highness must think of no other fortune than what he should make by his sword: that he was now upon the stage where he must act out his life, and that he should do well to think of providing a civil fortune for himself, as well as a martial; which could only be by marriage:" and then spoke of mademoiselle de Longueville, and made her fortune at least equal to what it was; "which," he said, "when once his highness was possessed of, he might sell; and thereby raise money to pay an army to invade England, and so might become the restorer of the king his brother: this he thought very practicable, if his highness seriously and heartily would endeavour it." The duke was not so far broken with age as to have an aversion from marriage, and the consideration of the fortune, and the circumstances which might attend it, made it not the less acceptable; yet he made no other answer to it, "than that he must first know the king's and queen's judgment of it, before he could take any resolution what to do." Upon which sir John undertook, with his highness's approbation, to propose it to their majesties himself, and accordingly first spoke with the queen, enlarging on all the benefit which probably might attend it.

It was generally believed, that the first overture and attempt had not been made without her majesty's privity and approbation; for the lord Jermyn had been no less active in the contrivance than sir John Berkley: yet her majesty refused to deliver any opinion in it, till she knew the king's: and so at last, after the young lady herself had been spoken to, his majesty was informed of it, and his approbation desired; with which he was not well pleased; and yet was unwilling to use his authority to obstruct what was looked upon as so great a benefit and advantage to his brother; though he did not dissemble his opinion of their presumption who undertook to enter upon treaties of that nature, with the same liberty as if it concerned only their own kindred and allies: however, he was very reserved in saying what he thought of it. Whilst his majesty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to discover what the chancellor of the exchequer's judgment was; and the lord Jermyn spoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the king's part, otherwise than from the difficulty of bringing it to pass, in regard the lady's friends would not without great difficulty be induced to give their consent. But the chancellor could not be drawn to make any other answer, than, "that it was a subject so much above his comprehension, and the consequences might be such, that he had not the ambition to desire to be consulted with upon it; and that less than the king's command should not induce him to enter upon the discourse of it."

It was not long before the queen sent for him; and seeming to complain of the importunity, which was used towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, asked him, what his opinion of it was? To which he answered, "that he did not understand the convenience of it so well, as to judge whether it were like to be of benefit to the duke of York: but he thought, that neither the king, nor her majesty, should be willing that the heir apparent of the crown should be married before the king himself; or that it should be in any woman's power to say, that, if there were but one person dead, she should be a queen:" with which her majesty, who no doubt did love the king with all possible tenderness, seemed to be moved, as if it had been a consideration she had not thought of before; and said, with some warmth, "that she would never give her consent that it should be so." However, this argument was quickly made known to the duke of York, and several glosses made upon it, to the reproach of the chancellor: yet it made such an impression, that there were then as active endeavours to find a convenient wife for the king himself, and mademoiselle, the daughter of the duke of Orleans, by his first wife, who, in the right of her mother, was already possessed of the fair inheritance of the duchy of Mompensier, was thought of. To this the queen was much inclined, and the king himself not averse; both looking too much upon the relief it might give to his present necessities, and the convenience of having a place to repose in, as long as the storm should continue. The chancellor of the exchequer had no thought, by the conclusion he had made in the other overture, to have drawn on this proposition; and the marquis of Ormond and he were no less troubled with this, than with the former; which made them be looked upon as men of contradiction.

They represented to the king, "that, as it could administer only some competency towards his present subsistence, so it might exceedingly prejudice his future hopes, and alienate the affections of his friends in England: that the lady was elder than he by some years; which was an exception amongst private persons; and had been observed not to be prosperous to kings: that his majesty must expect to be pressed to those things in point of religion which he could never consent to; and yet he should undergo the same disadvantage as if he had consented, by many men's believing he had done so." They besought him "to set his heart entirely upon the recovery of England, and to indulge to nothing that might reasonably obstruct that, either by making him less intent upon it, or by creating new difficulties in the pursuing it." His majesty assured them, "that his heart was set upon nothing else; and, if he had inclination to this marriage, it was because he believed it might much facilitate the other: that he looked not upon her fortune, which was very great, as an annual support to him, but as a stock that should be at his disposal; by sale whereof he might raise money enough to raise a good army to attempt the recovery of his kingdoms: and that he would be well assured, that it should be in his power to make that use of it, before he would be engaged in the treaty:

that he had no apprehension of the pressures which would be made in matters of religion; because, if the lady did once consent to the marriage, she would affect nothing but what might advance the recovery of his dominions; which she would quickly understand any unreasonable concessions in religion could never do." In a word, his majesty discovered enough to let them see that he stood very well inclined to the overture itself; which gave them trouble, as a thing which, in many respects, was like to prove very inconvenient.

But they were quickly freed from that apprehension. The lady carried herself in that manner, on the behalf of the prince of Condé, and so offensively to the French court, having given fire herself to the cannon in the Bastile upon the king at the port St. Antoine, and done so many reproof-full things against the French king and queen, that they no sooner heard of this discourse, but they quickly put an end to it; the cardinal, having long resolved, that our king should never owe any part of his restitution to any countenance or assistance he should receive from France; and, from the same conclusion, the like end was put to all overtures which had concerned the duke of York and the other lady.

There was, shortly after, an unexpected accident, that seemed to make some alteration in the affairs of Christendom; which many very reasonably believed, might have proved advantageous to the king. The parliament, as soon as they had settled their commonwealth, and had no enemy they feared, had sent ambassadors to their sister republic, the States of the United Provinces, to invite them to enter into a stricter alliance with them, and, upon the matter, to be as one commonwealth, and to have one interest. They were received in Holland with all imaginable respect, and as great expressions made, as could be, of an equal desire that a firm union might be established between the two commonwealths: and, for the forming thereof, persons were appointed to treat with the ambassadors; which was looked upon as a matter that would easily succeed, since the prince of Orange, who could have given powerful obstructions in such cases, was now dead, and all those who adhered to him discountenanced, and removed from places of trust and power in all the provinces, and his son, an infant, born after the death of his father, at the mercy of the States even for his support; the two dowagers, his mother and grandmother, having great jointures out of the estate, and the rest being liable to the payment of vast debts. In the treaty, Saint-John, who had the whole trust of the embassy, being very powerful in the parliament, and the known confident of Cromwell, pressed such a kind of union as must disunite them from all their other allies: so that, for the friendship of England, they must lose the friendship of all other princes, and yet lose many other advantages in trade, which they enjoyed, and which they saw the younger and more powerful commonwealth would in a short time deprive them of. This the States could not digest, and used all the ways they could to divert them from insisting upon so unreasonable conditions; and made many large overtures and concessions, which had never been granted by them to the greatest kings, and were willing to quit some advantages they had enjoyed by all the treaties with the crown of England, and to yield other considerable benefits which they always before denied to grant.

But this would not satisfy, nor would the ambassadors recede from any particular they had proposed: so that, after some months' stay, during which time they received many affronts from some English, and from others, they returned with great presents from the States, but without any effect by the treaty, or entering into any terms of alliance, and with the extreme indignation of Saint-John; which he manifested as soon as he returned to the parliament; who, disdaining likewise to find themselves undervalued, (that is, not valued above all the world besides,) presently entered upon counsels how they might discountenance and control the trade of Holland, and increase their own.

Hereupon they made that ordinance, that "inhibits all foreign ships from bringing in any merchandise or commodities into England, but such as were the proceed or growth of their own country, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all such ships." This indeed concerned all other countries; but it did, upon the matter, totally suppress all trade with Holland, which had very little merchandise of the growth of their own country, but had used to bring in their ships the growth of all other kingdoms in the world; wine from France and Spain, spices from the Indies, and all commodities from all other countries; which they must now do no more. The Dutch ambassador expostulated this matter very warmly, "as a breach of commerce and amity, which could not consist with the peace between the two nations; and that his masters could not look upon it otherwise than as a declaration of war." The parliament answered him superciliously, "that his masters might take it in what manner they pleased; but they knew what was best for their own state, and would not repeal laws to gratify their neighbours;" and caused the act to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

The United Provinces now discerned, that they had raised an enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the crown had been. However, they could not believe it possible, that in the infancy of their republic, and when their government was manifestly odious to all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, and the people generally weary of the taxes and impositions upon the nation for the support of their land-armies, the parliament would venture to increase those taxes and impositions proportionably to maintain a new war at sea, at so vast an expense, as could not be avoided; and therefore that they only made show of this courage to amuse and terrify them. However, at the spring, they set out a fleet stronger than of course they used to do; which made no impression upon the English; who never suspected that the Dutch durst enter into a war with them. Besides that they were confident no such counsel and resolution could be taken on a sudden, and without their having first notice of it, they having several of the States General, and more of the States of Holland, very devoted to them. And therefore they increased not their expense, but sent out their usual fleet for the guard of the coast at their season, and with no other instructions than they had been accustomed to.

The council of the admiralty of Holland, which governed the maritime affairs, without communication with the States General, gave their instructions to the admiral Van Trump, "that when he met any of the English ships of war, he should not strike to them, nor shew them any other respect than what they received from them; and if the English expostulated the matter, they should answer frankly, that the respect they had formerly shewed upon those encounters, was because the ships were the king's, and for the good intelligence they had with the crown; but they had no reason to continue the same in this alteration of government, except there were some stipulation between them to that purpose: and if this answer did not satisfy, but that force was used towards them, they should defend themselves with their utmost vigour." These instructions were very secret, and never suspected by the English commanders; who had their old instructions to oblige all foreign vessels to strike sail to them; which had never been refused by any nation.

It was about the beginning of May in the year 1652, that the Dutch fleet, consisting of above forty sail, under the command of Van Trump, rode at anchor in Dover road, being driven by a strong wind, as they pretended, from the Flanders coast, when the English fleet, under the command of Blake, of a much less number, appeared in view; upon which the Dutch weighed anchor, and put out to sea, without striking their flag; which Blake observing, caused three guns to be fired without any ball. It was then observed, that there was an express ketch came, at the very time, from Holland, on board their admiral; and it was then conceived, that he had, by that express, received more positive orders to fight; for, upon the arrival of that express, he tacked about, and bore directly towards the English fleet; and the three guns were no sooner fired, but, in contempt of the advertisement, he discharged one single gun from his poop, and hung out a red flag; and came up to the English admiral, and gave him a broadside; with which he killed many of his men, and hurt his ship. With which, though Blake was surprised, as not expecting such an assault, he deferred not to give him the same rude salutation; and so both fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce encounter; which continued for the space of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loss of much blood on both sides. On the part of the Dutch, they lost two ships, whereof one was sunk, and the other taken, with both the captains, and near two hundred prisoners. On the English side there were many slain, and more wounded, but no ship lost, nor officer of name. When the morning appeared, the Dutch were gone to their coast. And thus the war was entered into, before it was suspected in England.

With what consideration soever the Dutch had embarked themselves in this sudden enterprise, it quickly appeared they had taken very ill measures of the people's affections. For the news of this conflict no sooner arrived in Holland, but there was the most general consternation, amongst all sorts of men, that can be imagined; and the States themselves were so much troubled at it, that, with marvellous expedition, they despatched two extraordinary ambassadors into England; by whom they protested, "that the late unhappy engagement between the fleets of the two commonwealths had happened without their knowledge, and contrary to the desire of the lords the States General: that they had received the fatal tidings of so rash an attempt and action, with amazement and astonishment; and that they had immediately entered into consultation, how they might best close this fresh bleeding wound, and to avoid the further effusion of Christian blood, so much desired by the enemies of both states: and therefore they most earnestly desired them, by their mutual concurrence in religion, and by their mutual love of liberty, that nothing might be done with passion and heat; which might widen the breach; but that they might speedily receive such an answer, that there might be no further obstruction to the trade of both commonwealths."

To which this answer was presently returned to them, "that the civility which they had always shewed towards the States of the United Provinces was so notorious, that nothing was more strange than the ill return they had made to them: that the extraordinary preparations which they had made, of a hundred and fifty ships, without any apparent necessity, and the instructions which had been given to their seamen, had administered too much cause to believe, that the lords the States General of the United Provinces had a purpose to usurp the known right which the English have to the seas, and to destroy their fleets; which, under the protection of the Almighty, are their walls and bulwarks; that so they might be exposed to the invasion of any powerful enemy: therefore they thought themselves obliged to endeavour, by God's assistance, to seek reparation for the injuries and damage they had already received, and to prevent the like for the future: however, they should never be without an intention and desire, that some effectual means might be found to establish a good peace, union, and right understanding between the two nations."

With this haughty answer they vigorously prosecuted their revenge, and commanded Blake presently to sail to the northward; it being then the season of the year for the great fisheries of the Dutch upon the coasts of Scotland, and the isles of Orkney, (by the benefit whereof they drive a great part of their trade over Europe;) where he now found their multitude of fishing boats, guarded by twelve ships of war; all which, with the fish they had made ready, he brought away with him as good prize.

When Blake was sent to the north, sir George Ayscue, was sent with another part of the fleet to the south; who, at his very going out, met with thirty sail of their merchants between Dover and Calais; a good part whereof he took or sunk; and forced the rest to run on shore upon the French coast; which is very little better than being taken. From thence he stood westward; and near Plymouth, in the middle of August, with thirty sail of men of war, he engaged the whole Dutch fleet, consisting of sixty ships of war, and thirty merchants. It was near four of the clock in the afternoon when both fleets begun to engage, so that the night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the Holland ships of war were sunk, and most of the men lost; the Dutch in that action applying themselves most to spoil the tackling and sails of the English; in which they had so good success, that the next morning they were not able to give them further chase, till their sails and rigging could be repaired. But no day passed without the taking and bringing in many and valuable Dutch ships into the ports of England, which, having begun their voyages before any notice given to them of the war, were making haste home without any fear of their security: so that, there being now no hope of a peace by the mediation of their ambassadors, who could not prevail in any thing they proposed, they returned; and the war was proclaimed on either side, as well as prosecuted.

The king thought he might very reasonably hope to reap some benefit and advantage from this war, so briskly entered upon on both sides; and when he had sat still till the return of the Dutch ambassadors from London, and that all treaties were given over, he believed it might contribute to his ends, if he made a journey into Holland, and made such propositions upon the place as he might be advised to: but when his majesty imparted this design to his friends there, who did really desire to serve him, he was very warmly dissuaded from coming thither; and assured, "that it was so far from being yet seasonable, that it would more advance a peace than any thing else that could be proposed; and would, for the present, bring the greatest prejudice to his sister, and to the affairs of his nephew the prince of Orange, that could be imagined."

The king hereupon took a resolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce the good he desired. The Dutch ambassador then resident at Paris, monsieur Borrel, who had been pensioner of Amsterdam, was very much devoted to the king's service, having been formerly ambassador in England, and had always dependence upon the princes of Orange successively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the chancellor of the exchequer; who visited him constantly once a week, and received advertisements and advices from him, and the ambassador frequently came to his lodging. The king, upon conference only with the marquis of Ormond and the chancellor, and enjoining them secrecy, caused a paper to be drawn up; in which he declared, "that he had very good reason to believe, that there were many officers and seamen engaged in the service of the English fleet, who undertook that service in hope to find a good opportunity to serve his majesty; and that, if the Dutch were willing to receive him, he would immediately put himself on board their fleet, without requiring any command, except of such ships only, as, upon their notice of his being there, should repair to him out of the rebels' fleet: by this means," he presumed, "he should be able much to weaken their naval power, and to raise divisions in the kingdom, by which the Dutch would receive benefit and advantage." Having signed this paper, he sent the chancellor with it open, to shew to the Dutch ambassador, and to desire him to send it enclosed in his letter to the States. The ambassador was very much surprised with it, and made some scruple of sending it, lest he might be suspected to have advised it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his affection to the king, and for his dependence upon the house of Orange. In the end, he desired "the king would enclose it in a letter to him, and oblige him to send it to the States General:" which was done accordingly; and he sent it by the post to the States.

The war had already made the councils of the States less united than they had been, and the party that was known to be inclined to the prince of Orange recovered courage, and joined with those who were no friends to the war; and, when this message from the king was read, magnified the king's spirit in making this overture, and wished that an answer of very humble thanks and acknowledgment might be returned to his majesty. They said, "no means ought to be neglected that might abate the pride and power of the enemy:" and as soon as the people heard of it, they thought it reasonable to accept the king's offer. De Wit, who was pensioner of Holland, and had the greatest influence upon their counsels, had no mind to have any conjunction with the king; which, he foresaw, must necessarily introduce the pretences of the prince of Orange, to which he was an avowed and declared enemy. He told them,[1] "indeed it was a very generous offer of the king; but if they should accept it, they could never recede from his interest; which, instead of putting an end to the war, of which they were already weary, would make it without end, and would be the ruin of their state: that, whilst they were free from being engaged in any interest but their own, they might reasonably hope that both sides would be equally weary of the war, and then a peace would easily ensue; which they should otherwise put out of their own power;" so that thanks were returned to the king for his good will; and they pursued their own method in their counsels, and were much superior to those who were of another opinion, desiring nothing so much, as to make a peace upon any conditions.

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[1] It was said like a true patriot and an able minister.—W.

Nor can it appear very wonderful, that the Dutch made show of so much phlegm in this affair, when the very choler and pride of the French was, about the same time, so humbled by the spirit of the English, that, though they took their ships every day, and made them prize, and had now seized upon their whole fleet that was going to the relief of Dunkirk, (that was then closely besieged by the Spaniard, and, by the taking that fleet, was delivered into their hands,) yet the French would not be provoked to be angry with them, or to express any inclination to the king; but sent an ambassador, which they had not before done, to expostulate very civilly with the parliament for having been so unneighbourly, but in truth to desire their friendship upon what terms they pleased; the cardinal fearing nothing so much, as that the Spaniard would make such a conjunction with the new commonwealth, as should disappoint and break all his designs.

The insupportable losses which the Dutch every day sustained by the taking their merchants' ships, and their ships of war, and the total obstruction of their trade, broke their hearts, and increased their factions and divisions at home. All the seas were covered with the English fleets; which made no distinctions of seasons, but were as active in the winter as the summer; and engaged the Dutch upon any inequality of number. In the month of February, the most dangerous season of the year, they having appointed a rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty merchantmen, sent a fleet of above one hundred sail of men of war to convoy them; and Blake, with a fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very sharp battle from noon till the night parted them: which disposed them to endeavour to preserve themselves by flight; but, in the morning, they found that the English had attended them so close, that they were engaged again to fight, and so unprosperously, that, after the loss of above two thousand men, who were thrown overboard, besides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their merchantmen to the English, that they might make their flight the more securely.

This last loss made them send again to the parliament to desire a peace; who rejected the overture, as they pretended, "for want of formality," (for they always pretended a desire of an honourable peace,) the address being made only by the States of Holland and West-Friezland, the States General being at that time not assembled. It was generally believed that this address from Holland was not only with the approbation, but by the direction of Cromwell; who had rather consented to those particulars, which were naturally like to produce that war, to gratify Saint-John, (who was inseparable from him in all his other counsels, and was incensed by the Dutch,) than approved the resolution. And now he found, by the charge of the engagements had already passed on both sides, what an insupportable charge that war must be attended with. Besides, he well discerned that all parties, friends and foes, presbyterians, independents, levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the war; which could proceed from nothing, but that the excess of the expense might make it necessary to disband a great part of the land army (of which there appeared no use) to support the navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he authority to place his own creatures there, all the officers thereof being nominated and appointed solely by the parliament: so that when this address was made by the Dutch, he set up his whole rest and interest, that it might be well accepted, and a treaty thereupon entered into; which when he could not bring to pass, he laid to heart; and deferred not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the parliament with a witness, and by a way they least thought of.

Though Cromwell was exercised with these contradictions and vexations at home, by the authority of the parliament, he found not the least opposition from abroad. He was more absolute in the other two kingdoms, more feared, and more obeyed, than any king had ever been; and all the dominions belonging to the crown owned no other subjection than to the commonwealth of England. The isles of Guernsey, and Jersey, were reduced; the former presently after the battle of Worcester; and the other, after the king's return to Paris; sir George Carteret having well defended Jersey as long as he could, and being so overpowered that he could no longer defend the island, he retired into castle Elizabeth; which he had well fortified, and provided with all things necessary for a siege; presuming that, by the care and diligence of the lord Jermyn, who was governor thereof, he should receive supplies of men and provisions, as he should stand in need of them; as he might easily have done in spite of any power of the parliament by sea or land. But it had been the principal reason that Cromwell had hitherto kept the better quarter with the cardinal, lest the bait of those two islands, which the king could have put into his hands when he would, should tempt him to give his majesty any assistance. But the king was so strict and punctual in his care of the interest of England, when he seemed to be abandoned by it, that he chose rather to suffer those places of great importance to fall into Cromwell's power, than to deposit them, upon any conditions, into French hands; which, he knew, would never restore them to the just owner, what obligations soever they entered into.

When that castle had been besieged three months, and the enemy could not approach nearer to plant their ordnance than, at least, half an English mile, the sea encompassing it round more than so far from any land, and it not being possible for any of their ships to come within such a distance, they brought notwithstanding mortar pieces of such an incredible greatness, and such as had never been before seen in this part of the world,[1] that from the highest point of the hill, near St. Hilary's, they shot granadoes of a vast bigness into the castle, and beat down many houses; and, at last, blowed up a great magazine, where most of the provision of victuals lay; and killed many men. Upon which sir George Carteret sent an express to give the king an account of the condition he was in, and to desire a supply of men and provisions; which it being impossible for his majesty to procure, he sent him orders to make the best conditions he could; which he shortly after did; and came himself to Paris, to give the king a larger information of all that had passed in that affair; and afterwards remained in France under many mortifications, by the power and prosecution of Cromwell, till the king's happy restoration.

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[1] Intimating, though erroneously, that there were such in China.—W.

All the foreign plantations had submitted to the yoke without a blow; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having citizens and inferior persons put to govern them, instead of gentlemen, who had been intrusted by the king in those places. New England had been too much allied to all the conspiracies and combinations against the crown, not to be very well pleased that men of their own principles prevailed; and settled a government themselves were delighted with. The Barbadoes, which was much the richest plantation, was principally inhabited by men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the king; many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war; and, that being ended, made that island their refuge from further prosecutions. But having now gotten good estates there, (as it is incredible to what fortunes men raised themselves in few years, in that plantation,) they were more willing to live in subjection to that government at that distance, than to return into England, and be liable to the penalties of their former transgressions; which, upon the articles of surrender, they were indemnified for: nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the lord Willoughby of Parham, (who was, upon many accounts, odious to the parliament, as well as by being governor there by the king's commission,) and putting an inferior mean man in his place.

More was expected from Virginia; which was the most ancient plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend itself, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in sir William Berkley, the governor thereof, who had industriously invited many gentlemen, and others, thither as to a place of security, which he could defend against any attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many persons of condition, and good officers in the war, had transported themselves, with all the estate they had been able to preserve; with which the honest governor, for no man meant better, was so confirmed in his confidence, that he writ to the king almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilst the parliament had nothing else to do, that plantation in a short time was more improved in people and stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the Indians to very good neighbourhood. But, alas! they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been employed in the making the best advantage of their particular plantations, without assigning time or men to provide for the public security in building forts, or any places of retreat, that there no sooner appeared two or three ships from the parliament, than all thoughts of resistance were laid aside. Sir William Berkley, the governor, was suffered to remain there as a private man, upon his own plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found any where else. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the reputation he had with the people, till, upon the noise and fame of the king's restoration, he did as quietly resume the exercise of his former commission, and found as ready an obedience.

We shall not in this place enlarge upon the affairs of Scotland, (which will be part of the argument of the next book,) where Monk for the present governed with a rod of iron, and found no contradiction or opposition to his good will and pleasure. In Ireland, if that people had not been prepared and ripe for destruction, there had happened an alteration which might have given some respite to it, and disposed the nation to have united themselves under their new deputy, whom they had themselves desired, under all the solemn obligations of obedience. Shortly after the departure of the marquis of Ormond, Cromwell's deputy, Ireton, who had married his daughter, died in Limerick of the plague; which was gotten into his army, that was so much weakened by it, and there were so great factions and divisions among the officers after his sudden death, that great advantages might have been gotten by it. His authority was so absolute, that he was entirely submitted to in all the civil, as well as martial affairs. But his death was thought so little possible, that no provision had been made for that contingency. So that no man had authority to take the command upon him, till Cromwell's pleasure was further known; who put the charge of the army under Ludlow, a man of a very different temper from the other;[1] but appointed the civil government to run in another channel, so that there remained jealousy and discontent enough still between the council and the officers to have shaken a government that was yet no better established.

Ireton, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholic, reserved, dark nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that, for the most part, he resolved alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over Cromwell himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his dissembling less; for he was never reserved in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes; which the other always concealed and disavowed. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends and designs. It was generally conceived by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that Ireton was a man so radically averse from monarchy, and so fixed to a republic government, that, if he had lived, he would either, by his counsel and credit, have prevented those tyrannical excesses in Cromwell, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the army with him; and that Cromwell, who best knew his nature and his temper, had therefore carried him into Ireland, and left him there, that he might be without his counsels or importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards civil affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that government, which his heart was set upon, (being a scholar, conversant in the law, and in all that learning which had expressed the greatest animosity and malice against the regal government,) than for the conduct of an army to support it; his personal courage being never reckoned among his other abilities.

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[1] This was giving a very good character of Ludlow; for, as to their republican principles, their fanaticism was equal.—W.

What influence soever his life might have had upon the future transactions, certain it is, his death had none upon the state of Ireland to the king's advantage. The marquis of Clanrickard left no way unattempted that might apply the visible strength and power of the Irish nation, to the preservation of themselves, and to the support of the king's government. He sent out his orders and warrants for the levying of new men, and to draw the old troops together, and to raise money: but few men could be got together, and when they were assembled, they could not stay together for want of money to pay them: so that he could never get a body together to march towards the enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appeared, that they had only made those ample vows and protestations, that they might be rid of the marquis of Ormond, without any purpose of obeying the other. The greatest part of the popish clergy, and all the Irish of Ulster, had no mind to have any relation to the English nation, and as little to return to their obedience to the crown. They blamed each other for having deserted the nuncio, and thought of nothing but how they might get some foreign prince to take them into his protection. They first chose a committee, Plunket and Brown, two lawyers, who had been eminent conductors of the rebellion from the beginning, and men of good parts, and joined others with them, who were in France and Flanders. Then they moved the lord deputy, to send these gentlemen into Flanders, "to invite the duke of Lorrain to assist them with arms, money, and ammunition, undertaking to have good intelligence from thence, that the duke (who was known to wish well to the king) was well prepared to receive their desire, and resolved, out of his affection to the king, to engage himself cordially in the defence of that catholic kingdom, his zeal to that religion being known to be very great."

The marquis of Clanrickard had no opinion of the expedient, and less that the duke would engage himself on the behalf of a people who had so little reputation in the world, and therefore refused to give any commission to those gentlemen, or to any other to that purpose, without first receiving the king's order, or at least the advice of the marquis of Ormond, who was known to be safely arrived in France. But that was looked upon as delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence and information of the duke of Lorrain's being willing to undertake their relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the libels, and scandals, and declarations, which had been published against the marquis of Ormond, were now renewed, with equal malice and virulency, against the marquis of Clanrickard; and they declared, "that God would never bless his withered hand, which had always concurred with Ormond in the prosecution and persecution of the catholics confederates from the beginning of their engagement for the defence of their religion; and that he had still had more conversation with heretics than with catholics: that he had refused always to submit to the pope's authority; and had treated his nuncio with less respect than was due from any good catholic; and that all the catholics who were cherished or countenanced by him, were of the same faction." In the end, he could not longer resist the importunity of the assembly of the confederate catholics, (which was again brought together,) and of the bishops and clergy that governed the other; but gave his consent to send the same persons they recommended to him; and gave them his credentials to the duke of Lorrain; but required them "punctually to observe his own instructions, and not to presume to depart from them in the least degree." Their instructions were, "to give the marquis of Ormond notice of their arrival; and to shew him their instructions; and to conclude nothing without his positive advice;" who, he well knew, would communicate all with the queen; and that likewise, "when they came into Flanders, they should advise with such of the king's council as should be there, and proceed in all things as they should direct."

What instructions soever the lord deputy prescribed to them, the commissioners received others from the council and assembly of their clergy, which they thought more to the purpose, and resolved to follow; by which they were authorized to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the duke of Lorrain to take them into his protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in France, they gave no notice of their business or their arrival to the queen, or to the marquis of Ormond; but prosecuted their journey to Brussels, and made their address, with all secrecy, to the duke of Lorrain. There were, at the same time, at Antwerp, the marquis of Newcastle, the chancellor of the exchequer, (who was newly returned from his embassy in Spain,) and secretary Nicholas; all three had been of the king's council; to neither of whom they so much as gave a visit. And though the duke of York, during this time, passed through Brussels, in his journey to Paris; they imparted not their negociations to his highness.

The duke of Lorrain had a very good mind to get footing in Ireland; where, he was sure, there wanted no men to make armies enough, which were not like to want courage to defend their country and religion. And the commissioners very frankly offered "to deliver up Galloway, and all the places which were in their possession, into his hands, with the remainder of the kingdom, as soon as it could be reduced; and to obey him absolutely as their prince." But he, as a reserve to decline the whole, if it appeared to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then apprehended, discoursed much of his affection to the king, and his resolution "not to accept any thing that was proposed, without his majesty's privity and full approbation." But in the mean time, and till that might be procured, he was content to send the abbot of St. Catharine's, a Lorrainer, and a person principally trusted by him, as his ambassador into Ireland, to be informed of the true state of that kingdom, and what real strength the confederate catholics were possessed of, and at what unity among themselves. With him he sent about three or four thousand pistoles, to supply their present necessities, and some arms and ammunition. The duke writ to the lord deputy the marquis of Clanrickard, as the king's governor, and the person by whose authority all those propositions had been made to him by the commissioners.

The abbot upon his arrival (though he was civilly received) quickly found, that the marquis knew nothing of what the commissioners had proposed or offered; and would by no means so much as enter upon any treaty with him; but disavowed all that they had said or done, with much vehemence, and with a protestation, "that he would cause their heads to be cut off, if they returned, or came into his hands." And the marquis did, at the same time, write very large letters both to the king, and the marquis of Ormond, of their presumption and wickedness; and very earnestly desired, "that they might be imprisoned, and kept till they might undergo a just trial."

As the marquis expressed all possible indignation, so many of the catholic nobility, and even some of their clergy, who never intended to withdraw their loyalty from the crown of England, how weakly soever they had manifested it, indeed all the Irish nation, but those of Ulster, who were of the old Septs, were wonderfully scandalized to find that all their strength was to be delivered presently up into the possession of a foreign prince; upon whose good nature only, it must be presumed that he would hereafter restore it to the king. It was now time for the popish bishops, and their confederates, to make good what had been offered by the commissioners with their authority; which though they thought not fit to own, they used all their endeavours now in procuring to have it consented to, and ratified. They very importunately advised, and pressed the lord deputy, "to confirm what had been offered, as the only visible means to preserve the nation, and a root out of which the king's right might again spring and grow up:" and when they found, that he was so far from yielding to what they desired, that, if he had power, he would proceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that he would no more give audience to the ambassador, and removed from the place where they were, to his own house and castle at Portumny, to be secure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced owned all that the commissioners had propounded, "as done by their order, who could make it good;" and desired the ambassador "to enter into a treaty with them;" and declared, "that they would sign such articles, with which the duke of Lorrain should be well satisfied." They undervalued the power of the marquis of Clanrickard, as not able to oppose any agreement they should make, nor able to make good any thing he should promise himself, without their assistance.

The ambassador was a wise man, and of phlegm enough; and though he heard all they would say, and received any propositions they would give him in writing, yet he quickly discerned, that they were so unskilful as to the managery of any great design, and so disjointed among themselves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpose; and excused himself from entering upon any new treaty with them, as having no commission to treat but with the lord deputy. But he told them, "he would deliver all that they had, or would propose to him, to the duke his master; who, he presumed, would speedily return his answer, and proceed with their commissioners in such a manner as would be grateful to them." So he returned in the same ship that brought him, and gave the duke such an account of his voyage, and that people, that put an end to that negociation; which had been entered into, and prosecuted, with less wariness, circumspection, and good husbandry, than that prince was accustomed to use.

When the ambassador was gone, they prosecuted the deputy, with all reproaches of betraying and ruining his country; and had several designs upon his person, and communicated whatever attempt was resolved to the enemy: yet there were many of the nobility and gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his person from any violence they intended against him, but could not secure him against their acts of treachery, nor keep his counsels from being betrayed. After the defeat of Worcester was known and published, they less considered all they did ; and every one thought he was to provide for his own security that way that seemed most probable to him ; and whosoever was most intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the deputy, and loudly urged " the necessity of uniting themselves for the public safety, which was desperate any other way :" whilst in truth every man was negociating for his own indemnity with Ludlow, (who commanded the English,) or for leave to transport regiments ; which kept the soldiers together, as if they had been the deputy's army.

The deputy had a suspicion of a fellow, who was observed every day to go out, and returned not till the next ; and appointed an officer of trust, with some horse, to watch him, and search him ; which they did ; and found about him a letter, which contained many reproaches against the marquis, and the intelligence of many particulars ; which the messenger was carrying to Ludlow. It was quickly discovered that the letter was written by one Father Cohogan, a Franciscan friar in Galloway ; where the deputy then was ; but much of the intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The deputy caused the friar to be imprisoned, and resolved to proceed exemplarily against him, after he had first discovered his complices. The friar confessed the letter to be of his writing, but refused to answer to any other question ; and demanded his privilege of a churchman, and not to be tried by the deputy's order. The conclusion was, the popish bishops caused him to be taken out of the prison ; and sent to the deputy, " that if he would send to them his evidence against the friar, who was an ecclesiastical person, they would take care that justice should be done."

This proceeding convinced the deputy, that he should not be able to do the king any service in that company ; nor durst he stay longer in that town, lest they should make their own peace by delivering up him and the town together ; which they would have made no scruple to have done. From that time he removed from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the same place together, lest he should be betrayed ; and sometimes without any accommodations : so that, not having been accustomed to those hardships, he contracted those diseases which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he received commands from the king. For as soon as he had advertisement of the king's arrival at Paris, and it was very evident, by the behaviour of the Irish, that they would be no more applied to the king's service under his command than under the marquis of Ormond's, he sent the earl of Castlehaven (who had been formerly a general of the confederate catholics, and remained with great constancy with the marquis of Clanrickard, as long as there was any hope) to the king, with so particular an account, under his own hand, of all that had passed, from the time that he had received his commission from the marquis of Ormond, that it even contained almost a diurnal, in which he made so lively a description of the proceedings of the Irish, of their overtures to the duke of Lorrain, and of their several tergiversations and treacheries towards him, that any man might discern, especially they who knew the generosity of the marquis, his nature, and his custom of living, that he had submitted to a life very uncomfortable and melancholic; and desired his majesty's leave that he might retire, and procure a pass to go into England; where he had some estate of his own, and many friends, who would not suffer him to starve; which his majesty made haste to send to him, with as great a testimony of his gracious acceptation of his service and affection, as his singular merit deserved.

Thereupon the marquis sent to Ludlow for a pass to go into England, and render himself to the parliament; which he presently sent him; and so the marquis transported himself to London; where he was civilly treated by all men, as a man who had many friends, and could have no enemies but those who could not be friends to any. But by the infirmities he had contracted in Ireland, by those unnatural fatigues and distresses he had been exposed to, he lived not to the end of a year; and had resolved, upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have transported himself to the king, and attended his fortune. He left behind him so full a relation of all material passages, as well from the beginning of that rebellion, as during the time of his own administration, that I have been the less particular in the accounts of what passed in the transactions of that kingdom, presuming that more exact work of his will, in due time, be communicated to the world.

The affairs of the three nations being in this posture at the end of the year 1653, and there being new accidents, and alterations of a very extraordinary nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of success, though not with that benefit to the king as might have been expected naturally from those emotions, we shall here conclude this book, and reserve the other for the next.

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